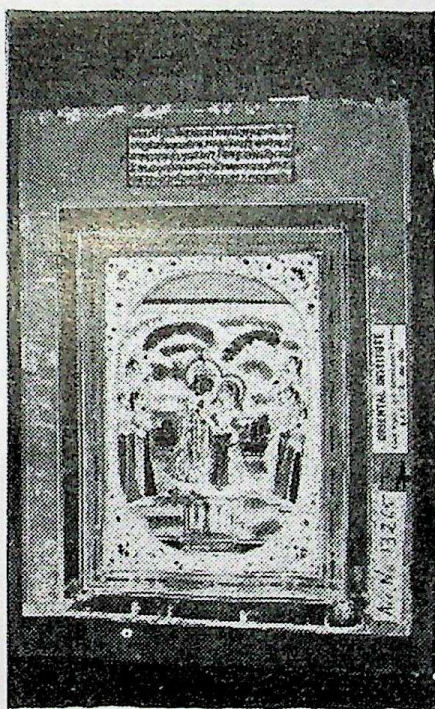


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VĀLMĪKI AND VYĀSA: THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO INDIA'S DISCOURSE ON ETHNICITY

By

ROBERT P. GOLDMAN*

Recent discourse on the most ancient recoverable periods of ancient Indian history, both in the scholarly and the political realms, has increasingly been dominated by questions of race or ethnicity. On the scholarly side Sanskritists and historians have recently been re-examining the concept of *āryatva* which appears to have played a significant role in the self-definition of at least some important elements in Indian society from the Vedic age onwards. The evidence for this trend in Indological research can be found in such phenomena as the two conferences held in recent years at the University of Michigan at which Indian, American and European scholars discussed the topic of "Ārya and Anārya," the incessant chatter on such electronic exchanges as "Indology" on questions of race and ethnicity, and the release of several publications¹ on the subject that have been prominent on the India Studies scene in recent years.

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1 Examples are Peter Robb's *The Concept of Race in South Asia* (Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1995) a volume of papers many of which were presented at a workshop at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London in December, 1992, and *Ideology and Status of Sanskrit: Contributions to the History of the Sanskrit Language* (Jan E. M. Houben, ed. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1996) which represents the outcome of a seminar at the International Institute for Asian Studies in Leiden in November, 1994.

In the political arena, which is—alas—not wholly isolated from that of scholarship, the increasing prominence of the so called “identity politics,” a worldwide phenomenon, has been particularly pronounced in some segments of the Indian public. In this connection the prescriptive historical ethnography of European colonial scholarship is being stridently contested on behalf of a political consciousness that has a considerable investment in the establishment of, for example, a purely Indian origin of the Indo-Āryans.

In the midst of this intense, complex and often heated welter of claims, counterclaims and disputation on questions that may be seen as centring on this fundamental index of human identity, it is noteworthy that Sanskrit scholars, who for many decades have been seen and have seen themselves as at best marginal to the heated controversies of the post-colonial world have become increasingly involved in ideological and even frankly political debates.

I do not mean to suggest that this is not a positive development. Aside from the rhetorical and ideological excesses of some groups and individuals and the tendency here, as in many other areas of identity politics, to favour views one finds personally gratifying or politically advantageous over those one does not, this trend has, I believe, been a healthy one at least for Sanskrit studies. I say this because I think that it is high time that Sanskrit Studies resumed the once prominent place they held among the scholarly disciplines devoted to the study of the rich and diverse cultural heritage of India, present as well as past. This is appropriate because the Sanskrit language as well as the massive corpus of texts in Sanskrit and closely related languages such as Pali and the Prakrits lies at the very wellsprings of Indian culture from the time of the Vedas down to the present day. Moreover, despite the powerful critique of the Sanskritic tradition as expressive of the culture, values and ideology of a narrow socio-political elite, to deny Sanskrit its due place in the formation of culture beyond the confines of that elite is scientifically untenable.

Still, in order for Sanskrit scholars to engage actively once more with workers in other disciplines in reasoned and productive debate, it will be necessary for them to come to terms with many of the methodological and theoretical advances of contemporary cultural scholarship which spans a variety of fields in the humanities and social sciences. They must thus also be willing to re-examine their understanding of how the *Devavāṇī* actually functioned in its various historical, cultural, and religious milieus that spanned, over a period of perhaps three millennia, the vast swathe of nations from Afghanistan to Bali that Pollock has referred to as the “Sanskrit Cosmopolis”.²

2 Pollock, Sheldon I., “*The Sanskrit Cosmopolis, 300-1300 CE: Transculturation, Vernacularization and the Question of Ideology*,” in Houben, ed. 1996: 197-247.

In attempting to discover the roots of India's understanding and representation of ethnicity, as with other aspects of its traditional culture and society, scholars have quite naturally sought enlightenment in the Veda. But one of the principal qualities that recommend the Vedas to the scholar of ancient India, their antiquity, also presents a significant obstacle to our ability to read these immortal texts as historical sources. For they date, in the main, from those periods of Indian history about which we know the least and for which we have the least corroborative evidence in the form of textual sources or the remains of material culture. Moreover, the *śruti* literature itself must be used with the greatest caution as a basis for historical reconstruction of early society. For one thing it was never intended for such a purpose. Its major focus is on the *paraloka* and the interface between that world and ours in the form of the complex institution of the *yajña*. Most of the information we can derive from these texts on the social, economic and political realities of Vedic India is therefore peripheral to the central concerns of *śruti*. Moreover, the Vedic texts, especially the oldest *saṃhitā* portions rarely present much in the way of continuous narrative, often using dialogic, hortatory, metaphorical and other rhetorical strategies to convey their messages within a strictly limited interpretive community consisting of the highly exclusive class of trained *Brāhmaṇa* Vedic scholars and ritual practitioners. Beyond this circle, references often become obscure as perhaps they were meant to be to the uninitiated. Even when, as in some noteworthy cases, the discourse is or appears to be about historical events, groups and peoples, it is often difficult to distinguish these from the timeless, cosmic and mythological subjects that predominate in these texts. Sometimes, for example, it is not entirely clear whether groups represented as hostile to or in conflict with the Vedic peoples are to be regarded as rival "Āryan" communities, "non-Āryan" "tribal" groups or one or another of the non-human, supernaturally empowered species such as *asuras* and *rākṣasas* etc., that people these and later texts. On the whole then, the Vedas, although they are of unparalleled significance to our understanding of the intellectual, philosophical and religious bases of Indian culture, are at best an unsteady foundation upon which to erect an edifice of social and political history.

There is, however, another great literary source of comparable—if not quite equal—antiquity to the Vedic corpus which fleshes out—as it were—many of the narrative and contextual lacunae of the *śruti*, a source which rises, moreover from the same cultural, religious and social ground as the Vedas themselves. I am referring, of course to those two mighty compendia of ancient Indian knowledge and practice composed by Vedic *ṛsis* and yet designed for and consumed by an audience far larger and more diverse in terms of ethnicity, class, ritual status, region and gender than that to which the Vedas are directed. These are the monumental Sanskrit poems, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.

These great works, of which the second at least is sometimes referred to as *pañcamo vedah*, are certainly designed—in part at any rate—to serve as popular, performative, media for the dissemination of Vedic knowledge as well as social and political belief and practice. Not least among the concerns dealt with by prescription, proscription and positive and negative example in the two epic poems are the relative status of the various *varṇas* that make up the core of Vedic/Brahmanical society and the possible relationships between that society and groups represented as being outside its charmed circle. For these reasons it may be a useful exercise to look once more at the epics, including some of their less fully examined episodes, with an eye towards shedding some further illumination on the attitudes towards race and ethnicity illustrated by these widely disseminated and massively influential documents of Indian culture.

In examining Vyāsa's and Vālmīki's discourse on ethnicity, I feel that it may be of some heuristic value to attempt to avoid, to the extent that is possible, relying on that old standby of ancient Indian ethnography, the term *Ārya* (or Aryan). I say this for a number of reasons. For one thing these terms are too closely enmeshed in a fundamentally European discourse of race, ethnicity and geographical origins that is utterly alien to pre-modern India. Thus especially in the context of the recent revival of this debate, the term tends to draw us away from the issue of ethnicity as it was experienced and represented by the authors of the epic poems themselves. Then, too, the term *Ārya*, whatever may have been its ethnographic reference when set in juxtaposition to such terms as *dasyu* or *dāsa* in the *Rveda*, proved to be so successfully evocative of all that was good, right, noble, proper and respectable, that by the time of the epics it had attracted to itself a vast and complex semantic field most of which has little if any reference to what we could usefully call ethnicity. As a result the term comes to be largely stripped of any clear reference to a defined ethnic population; and even when it does refer to the identity or practices of certain groups of people in contradistinction to those of others, it appears that the differentiation is increasingly likely to derive from questions of social hierarchy rather than anything resembling the modern concept of "race".

Nonetheless, there can be no doubt that both Vālmīki and Vyāsa are keenly aware of the existence of a variety of groups who are to a greater or lesser degree seen as ethnically different from the central characters of their poems. Both *ṛṣis* can, for example, reel off lists of alien and outlandish folk. Thus Vyāsa enumerates the lands and peoples subjugated by the Pāṇḍavas during the course of the *Rājasūya* sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira³ while both seers enumerate the foreign

³ Mbh. 2 23-29. Unless otherwise indicated all references to the *Māhābhārata* are to the Critical Edition published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune from 1933-70 and all references to the *Rāmāyaṇa* are to the Critical Edition of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* published by the Oriental Institute of Baroda in Vadodara from 1960-1975.

troops produced by the sage Vasiṣṭha's *kāmadhenu*.⁴ Then too both authors are keenly aware of the powerful sense of otherness that sets one culture or community off from another.

One central thematic element of the *Mahābhārata* is that of the antipathy and genocidal violence that can erupt between the members of such groups. Consider the framing narratives of Janamejaya's and Parāśara's *satras* for the extermination of the *nāgas* and the *rākṣasas* respectively⁵ or the epic bards' dark fascination with the tension between the *brāhmaṇas* and the *kṣatriyas* framed most frequently by the terrifying figures of Rāma Jāmadagnya, who exterminated the warrior class twentyone times and made gory oblations with their blood at the Samantapañcaka Tīrtha, which was to be the site of the epic battle itself.⁶

Like the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is also a work deeply concerned with cultural difference and its narrative is carefully designed so as to move its audience from the ordered civility of the Kosalan court through the terrors of the demon haunted woods to the alien politics first of the *vānaras* at Kiṣkindhā and then of the dreadful but fascinating *rākṣasas* of Laṅkā.⁷ But once again we move between, on the one hand, the arenas of class rivalry and, on the other, that of the mythic struggle between different orders of beings. It is only by a considerable stretch of the term that we can consider episodes of these types to fall within the scope of ethnography. Therefore, in order to avoid falling into either of these traps, I will pass over the many interesting episodes in both epics in which the aristocratic heroes encounter either peoples of lower *varṇas*—chiefly *śūdras*, or creatures of non-human origin such as *rākṣasas*, *nāgas* and so forth—and concentrate on those incidents in which they encounter specific, named human groups who appear to differ from the heroes by reason of their ethnicity rather than their social or generic status.

Let us first consider the *Mahābhārata*. The Pāṇḍava heroes' attitude towards groups that we may, at least for the sake of convenience, call "tribal"

4 Rām 1.53-54. Mbh. 1.165.

5 Mbh. 1.47; 172.

6 Mbh. 1.2; 3.117; 12.12.49 etc. See also Goldman, Robert P. *Gods, Priests, and Warriors: The Bhārgavas of the Mahābhārata*, New York Columbia University Press, 1977.

7 Pollock, Sheldon I.: *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki: An Epic of Ancient India*. Vol. III: *Araṇyakāṇḍa*, Princeton University Press, 1991: 68-84 and Goldman and Goldman, *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki: An Epic of Ancient India*. Vol., V: 65-74.

tend to be either adversarial or utterly callous although there are a few heavily qualified exceptions.⁸

The ethnic hostility, or at least the anticipation of it on the part of these tribal groups, is illustrated by the episode in the *Mausalaparvan* in which the Ābhīras of the Punjab,—there also called Dasyus and Mlecchas—attack the survivors of the inundation of Dvārakā and carry off the Vṛṣṇī women.⁹ Here these groups are depicted as lawless brigands intent on rape and plunder whose hostility towards the urban elites of the period is held in check only by the martial prowess of the aristocracy. In this instance, that prowess, represented by the Lāṇḍava prince Arjuna, is shown to be failing and the tribal raiders are thus able to carry off both women and booty with impunity.

The prevailing attitude of contempt and hostility for such groups can also clearly be seen in number of encounters that the epic protagonists have with individuals belonging or appearing to belong to "tribal" groups during the course of their numerous earlier adventures. One of the best known is, of course, Arjuna's rivalry and combat with Lord Śiva who has taken the form of an idealized Kirāta in order to test the warrior's mettle. Although in this instance his adversary is not in fact a genuine Kirāta, Arjuna is not at first aware of this and therefore asserts what appears to be an ethnic prerogative based on the assumption of his superior status in claiming the disputed prize of the hunt.¹⁰

But the mixture of contempt and arrogance with which the epic heroes treat is illustrated even more clearly in two episodes involving figures identified as

8 In the well-known passage in the *Ādiparva* in which the Kaurava dynast Śaṁtanu sues for the hand of the daughter of the chief of the Dāśas a fisher tribe, it is clear to the audience and is made explicitly clear to the king's son, Devavrata, that the girl, Satyawatī is of Aryan birth (*apatyam āryasya*) and equal in birth to him (Mbh. 1.91.71). Nonetheless, the relationship between the Bhārata monarch and the fisher chief, while exhibiting none of the hostility that characterizes such relationships elsewhere in the poem, does not, on the other hand, show the heavily stressed subordination and devotion common to such relationships in the *Rām*. Indeed, the Dāśa chieftain, perceiving the infatuation of Śaṁtanu for Satyawatī, has no hesitation in exploiting it to force an enormous concession from the king. (Mbh. 1.94.51) Note also that the fisher chief appears to have no hesitation in addressing the heir apparent to the imperial throne with the familiar vocative, *tāta*. (Mbh. 1.94.72).

9 Mbh. 16.8.44-61.

10 Mbh. 3.40.

Niṣādas, an ethnic group known widely throughout the ancient literature.¹¹ The first of these is the well-known encounter of the youthful Pāṇḍavas with the tribal archery prodigy Ekalavya.¹² In this illuminating episode the two cultural imperatives to maintain a clear distinction among hierarchically ranked *var* a functions reinforces what appears to be an attitude of ethnic superiority.

Observing the young Arjuna's increasing skill at archery and his ability to shoot in the dark, the Pāṇḍavas' great martial arts master Droṇācārya vows to make every effort to ensure that his protégé shall have no equal in skill as an archer.¹³ He then instructs his pupil in the arts of combat. Learning of his extraordinary skill, thousands of kings and princes come to try to master the *dhanurveda* at his feet. Among these would-be disciples is young Ekalavya, the son of the ruler of the tribal Niṣādas. Hiranyadhanus¹⁴ Reflecting on the boy's lowly tribal status and out of regard for the sensibilities of his other aristocratic pupils, Droṇa refuses to accept him as a disciple. Undaunted by his rejection, Ekalavya withdraws to the forest where he fashions an image of Droṇa out of earth. Worshipping this image as his *guru*, he devotes himself to the science of *dhanurveda*. As a result of his diligence and his faith in his chosen master, he acquires extraordinary dexterity.

One day, when the Pāṇḍavas are hunting, one of their dogs comes upon the Niṣāda in the dense forest and begins barking at him. Ekalavya responds by firing seven arrows into the animal's mouth virtually simultaneously. When the Pāṇḍavas see the evidence of such skill at shooting, they are filled with

11 This term, like many of the terms for the lower social orders in the older literature, has in fact a range of meanings. Thus it may also refer generically to any degraded or low class as opposed to a specific tribal group or to "tribals" in general, while some authorities on *dharmaśāstra* use the term to denote specifically the offspring of a *śūdra* woman by her *brāhmaṇa* husband. Cf. Manu X. 8. *The Manusmṛti with the commentary Manvarthamuktāvali of Kullūka*, Tenth edition Bombay, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, 1946.

12 Mbh. 1.123.

13 Mbh. 1.123.6:

prayatiṣye tāthā kariṇi yathā nānyo dhanurdharaḥ /
tvatsamo bhavitā loke satyam etad bravīmi te //

"I shall strive to make it so that no other archer in the world will be your equal. This is the truth that I am telling you".

14 Mbh. 1.123.10. That the Niṣāda chieftains are already strongly associated with archery is suggested by the name which means. "He of the golden bow." Compare also the well-known *krauñcavadha* episode in the Rām (1.2.9-14) where an unnamed Niṣāda hunter shoots a crane, thus incurring the curse of Vālmiki.

amazement and much abashed. But when the identity and lowly status of the archer are discovered, Arjuna is bitter and rebukes Droṇa, reminding him of his promise that he should be unsurpassed. Arjuna then takes him to task for having nonetheless produced a mighty disciple who exceeds him and the whole world in skill.¹⁵ After a moment's thought, the *ācārya* leads the prince to the filthy, shabby tribal boy who, seeing his master approach, prostrates himself in reverence, worships him and stands reverently before him. Droṇa now demands his teacher's fee, and Ekalavya humbly declares that there is nothing that he would not give his *guru*. Droṇa demands that the boy give him his right thumb. Hearing Droṇa's horrifying demand, Ekalavya, who is described as keeping his word and firmly devoted to truth, cheerfully and without a moment's hesitation lops off his thumb and presents it to his teacher as his *gurudakṣiṇā*. As a result, Ekalavya's speed in shooting is diminished, Droṇa's vow is fulfilled and Arjuna's chagrin is banished, for he is once more the foremost of archers.¹⁶

This episode is noteworthy in a number of respects. Despite the disturbing light it throws upon the actions of Droṇa and Arjuna when viewed from a modern, more egalitarian perspective, it does not appear that the story was originally intended to reflect badly upon either of them despite the former's cruelty and the latter's self-pitying envy. For nowhere in the text or elsewhere in the pre-modern literature have I come across any criticism of their actions in this matter.¹⁷ What appears to be at stake here for the epic poet and his intended audience is the honour of the two high born principals in the story, the *Brāhmaṇa* Droṇa and the *Kṣatriya* Arjuna. The former's reputation for truthfulness and the latter's for skill at archery, appropriate to their respective *varṇas*, must not be tarnished. That the lowly Ekalavya appears to surpass both of them in each of these virtues is at best an embarrassment, at worst, a threat to the ritual and social order. As for the Niṣāda boy himself, he is not represented as a tragic figure. Indeed he does not appear to matter greatly to the author or his audience as a character at all, serving merely as a foil against which the actions of his superiors are played out. Thus, although the passage can be cited

15 Mbh 1.123.26-28.

16 Mbh 1.123.29-39.

17 Note that the only moral lapse that the epic attributes in the end to Arjuna, and the one that precludes his entry into heaven with his earthly body, is his own unique failure to fulfill a vow, his boast that he would defeat the Kaurava armies in a single day (Mbh 17.2.21-24). It is true that, in a sense, he is made to atone for his act of killing the patriarch Bhīṣma from behind the figurative "skirts" of the "woman" warrior Śikhaṇḍin by having to suffer death at the hands of his own son Babhruvāhana. On this see Goldman, Robert P. "Fathers, Sons, and Gurus: Oedipal Conflict in the Sanskrit Epics" *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 6, 1978, pp 325-92.

to demonstrate that for the epic bard, a lowly tribal may be the repository of the kind of virtues associated with the priestly and aristocratic elites, and so be taken as a counter to the notion that such individuals are by their very nature degraded and immoral, it equally clearly shows that such a person is not to be admired or rewarded for his noble qualities. Quite to the contrary, he is liable to sanction and punishment for his presumption.¹⁸

Still more disturbing to a post-enlightenment ethos with its egalitarianism and sense of social justice is the well-known episode in which Yudhiṣṭhira, having become aware of his rival Duryodhana's plot to have him, his brothers, and Kuntī burnt to death in a specially constructed *jatugrha*, decides to destroy the treacherous minister Purocana—who is supposed to perpetrate the proposed arson—and effect the Pāṇḍavas' escape.¹⁹ In order to cover their flight and put off pursuit, Yudhiṣṭhira decides to lure six innocent people into the inflammable house so that their charred corpses, naturally mistaken for those of the heroes and their mother, will lead Duryodhana to believe that his plot has been successful.²⁰ Neither Yudhiṣṭhira's brothers, the paragons of *dharma*, nor their righteous mother objects to this callous plan. In fact, they readily participate in it.

Under the pretext of offering a charitable feast for *Brāhmaṇas* to which women as well as men are invited, Kuntī invites many people to the house. Among them is a poor, hungry *Niṣāda* woman and her five sons. Their hosts ply these unfortunates with wine so that when the elite guests have taken Kuntī's leave and returned to their homes, the woman and her sons remain behind in the stuporous sleep of drunkenness. Then, as a strong wind arises to fan the flames, Bhīma sets the house on fire killing the Pāṇḍavas' unwitting guests along with their own secret enemy Purocana.²¹ When the townspeople comb through the ashes the next morning, they find the charred bodies of the innocent woman and her sons and report to Duryodhana that Kuntī and the Pāṇḍavas (who have in fact made their escape) are dead.²²

18 Also noteworthy in this episode is the way in which it enacts, in a guarded way, the theme of the elite's ambivalence—a complex mixture of contempt, envy, fear, revulsion and desire—towards the aboriginal and the underclass that characterizes the elites of many if not all cultures.

19 Mbh. 1.135-137.

20 Mbh. 1.136.4:

*āyudhāgāram ādīpya dagdhvā caiva purocanam /
ṣaṭ prāṇīno nidhāyeha dravāmo 'nabhilakṣitāḥ ||*

"We'll set the weapons' room alight and burn Purocana. If we put six people in here we can flee undetected."

21 Mbh. 1.136.5-9.

22 Mbh. 1.137.7-9.

Nowhere in the text of the *Mahābhārata* or its most commonly read commentary is there any hint of ethical or moral censure for this slaughter of innocents whose only justification is the Pāṇḍavas' fear of pursuit.²³ Once again it appears that it is the despised ethnicity of the victims with its correspondingly low social and ritual status that enables the aristocratic heroes to kill them apparently without either moral qualm or legal consequence. Much less shocking transgressions against individuals of high social and ritual status are explicitly shown in the epic to have moral and even eschatological consequences. Compare, for example, the insouciance and impunity of Yudhiṣṭhira in this episode with Indra's somewhat peculiar discourse to him on eschatology in the epic's concluding passage. There the lord of the gods, explaining to the king why the latter has had to undergo the physical and mental torture of seeing his wife and brothers undergoing the torments of hell, tells him that he was, in fact, expiating the sin of having deceived Droṇa by falsely giving him to understand that the latter's son Aśvatthāman had been killed during the Bhārata war.²⁴

Clearly the weight placed upon Yudhiṣṭhira's half-truth which leads to the death of Droṇa, as contrasted with the epic's failure even to regard his earlier cruel deception and slaughter of six innocent people, can only be seen as a reflex of the different ethnicity of his victims. This kind of difference, although perhaps exaggerated in keeping with conventions of the epic genre, is, in fact, perfectly consonant with the cultural tradition, explicitly codified in the *dharmaśāstras* of indexing the gravity of a crime to the relative rank of the perpetrator and victim.²⁵ The plain message of the passage and the lack of attention it has received in both traditional and scholarly circles is that Niṣādas, a term used frequently to stand for tribals in general, are at least for the author of the *Mahābhārata*, if not wholly sub-human, beyond the scope of the moral, ethical, and legal codes that govern the actions of the epic heroes and indeed form the fundamental thematic of the entire epic.

23 Nilakaṇṭha in his comment on *Mbh* (vulgate) 1.148.4 (equals critical edition 1.130.4) explains Yudhiṣṭhira's decision to lure the six to their death as follows, "The sense of the verse that begins, 'If we put six people in here....' is 'Otherwise, suspecting that we have fled, [our enemies] may resolve to search for us. That must not happen.' The text's only hint of an explanation of why the Niṣāda woman is selected for murder is that, in the common and all but empty epic cliché, she is "doomed" (*kālacoditā*).

24 *Mbh.* 18.3 12-16. Note the unusual and possibly unique eschatology expounded in the passage, according to which a person whose deeds during life have been preponderantly virtuous must first spend some time in hell before proceeding to heaven, while a predominantly evil person goes first to heaven before reaching hell.

25 Kane, 1962-1975, vol. 3: 391-406.

But, interestingly enough, the hostility of the *Mahābhārata*'s authors, characters and—we may presume—original audience towards ethnic difference cannot be taken as wholly reflective of the ethos of the Epic Age. For, in keeping with its general softening of the harshness of the *kṣatriya* code as expressed in Vyāsa's masterwork, the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* presents a rather different view.

It has often been noted that the narrative of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Vālmiki's rendering and indeed the entire genre of *kāvya* in which that rendering is composed are framed and inspired, respectively by the angry *ṛṣi*'s spontaneous curse of a hapless and nameless *Niṣāda* hunter.

mā niṣāda pratiṣṭhāṃ tvam āgamaḥ śāśvatīḥ samāḥ |
*yat krauñcamithunād ekam avadhīḥ kāmamohitam ||*²⁶

But we should not let this highly foregrounded passage leave us with the impression that Vālmiki shares Vyāsa's disdain for tribal groups. For the unlucky *Niṣāda* is not cursed either because of his lowly status or for following his traditional occupation of hunting, but rather because, in the *ṛṣi*'s view his action of killing the *krauñca* cock while it was preoccupied with the raptures of love is a breach of *dharma*.²⁷ Moreover, to fall victim to an angry sage's curse is hardly a sign of low status in the epic. All orders of creation from gods to demons and every class of humanity are similarly susceptible and are regularly shown succumbing to the power of the ubiquitous curse. Thus, for all its undeniable significance for our understanding of the emotive basis for aesthetic experience in general and for the tragic theme of the epic tale of *Sītā* and *Rāma*, the *krauñcavadha* episode actually sheds little light on the poet's attitude towards tribals. Vālmiki's unfortunate *Niṣāda* is merely a convenient figure put to the service of a grander design. He exists only to provide a catalyst for the creation of poetry, and we learn nothing further about him other than that he shot the bird and was cursed for it. Indeed, he is virtually unique among the legions of the victims of curses who people the epics, the *Purāṇas* and virtually all pre-modern Indian narrative literature in that the story provides no sequel to his encounter with the sage. Strangely we are told nothing about the fulfilment of Vālmiki's somewhat ambiguous malediction. In fact, we learn nothing further about the *Niṣāda* at all.

For the most part, Vālmiki's characters sustain a quite different relationship to the forest dwelling peoples than that which seems to prevail between the urban aristocracy and the tribal populations of the *Mahābhārata*. Here the relationship appears to be one of patronage rather than conflict. The paradigmatic example of this is the alliance between the House of *Ikṣvāku* and the *Niṣādas* under the

26 Rām. 1.2.14.

27 Rām. 1.2.13.

chieftenship of Guha.²⁸ Unlike Vyāsa's Niṣādas, excluded from the company of the well-born and casually dispensable as props to cover the Pāṇḍavas' escape. Vālmīki's Guha is portrayed as a man of substance and a close loyal retainer of the royal family. Rāma does not hesitate to address him in highly respectful terms and even to embrace him affectionately.²⁹ Indeed, it is clear from Guha's words and actions that he is something of a vassal of the Kosalan throne as when he tells the newly exiled prince:

svāgataṃ te mahābāho taveyam akhilā mahī |
*vayaṃ preṣyā bhavān bhartā sādhu rājyaṃ praśādhi naḥ ||*³⁰

and when he sits up all night to help, Lakṣmaṇa guard him,³¹ or accepts his orders to fetch *nyagrodha* sap to help him mat his hair.³² Indeed, although he is only a chief of humble forest fisherman, he is represented as controlling a significant military force³³ and as prepared, if need be, to interpolate himself into a succession struggle in the royal family of his overlords on behalf of his patron, Rāma.³⁴

Rāma's other significant encounter with a person of evidently tribal origin is with the ascetic woman known only by what we must take to be her ethnic rather than individual name, Śabarī. In this brief episode, much better known from later versions of the tale where the woman offers Rāma fruit which she has, in her naive devotion, already tasted for sweetness, this tribal disciple of a tribal master³⁵ is held up, despite the notorious later counter example of the *śūdra* ascetic Śambūka,³⁶ as a virtual paragon of holy practice and the model for patient devotion to her promised Lord.³⁷ Here again the relationship reflects no animosity of any kind but rather the kind of bond between the devoted servant or client and master or patron that comes to be idealized by the *bhakti* poets as

28 Rām. 2.44 ff.

29 Rām. 2.44. 16-18.

30 Rām. 2.44. 14.

31 Rām. 44. 6-45.7.

32 Rām. 2.46.55.

33 Rām. 2.45.7.

34. Cf. Rām. 2.78 where Guha makes it clear that he is prepared to deploy his forces to prevent Bharata and his army from crossing the Gaṅgā until he is assured that the prince has neither hostile intentions towards Rāma nor pretensions to the throne of Kosala.

35. Pollock 1991 : 354.

36. This well-known episode is not discussed here since, as was noted above, questions of social, as opposed to ethnic, difference lie beyond the scope of this inquiry.

37 Rām. 3.69-71.

exemplary of *dāsyabhāva*. Indeed, the literary tradition of *Rāmabhakti*, in which this mode of devotion is often highlighted, counts both Guha and Śabarī among its exemplars in this respect.

One of the things that this brief survey of some epic passages relevant to the representation of ethnicity suggests is that there are profound and consistent differences in the relationships between the aristocratic town dwelling elites who form the poems' central cast of characters and the hierarchically subordinate and ethnically distinct forest dwelling "tribal" groups with whom they occasionally come in contact. On the one hand, the *Mahābhārata* depicts a world in which sharp tensions, mutual contempt, and sometimes open conflict characterize these relationships so that, in many ways they mirror the rivalry and hostility that colour the relationship between the feuding groups of aristocratic cousins who are, respectively, the protagonists and antagonists of the central epic drama. In contrast, the relationship between the central *kṣatriya* heroes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the forest dwelling tribals they encounter in the course of their wanderings in the wilderness, tend to be peaceful and harmonious and are notably marked by the kind of uncontested patterns of dominance and subordination that characterize the intra-familial relationships in the Ikṣvāku House itself.

At the very least, I would argue, these differences in representation must give us pause before we come to any sort of definite conclusions about the perception of ethnicity in India of the *janapada* period. For clearly, if the epics are to be regarded as historical sources of any value, there was no uniform, culture-wide stance towards groups perceived as ethnically and culturally distinct from the emerging *vaṇāśramadharmā* based culture of the developing urban centres of these nascent states.

No doubt these groups with their less advanced economic practices of fishing, hunting and gathering were consistently regarded as subordinate to an increasingly agriculturist society organized around the culture of the Vedas. But their difference and relative lack of sophistication was not uniformly represented negatively. For where Vyāsa's central characters are alternately wary, contemptuous, hostile and even brutal towards such groups, expecting these sentiments to be fully reciprocated, Vālmīki's heroes appear to have established a settled pattern of patronage and fealty whereby tribal groups under the protection of the Kosalan court are represented as devoted vassals of the Ikṣvāku kings.

Then, too, having noticed this difference between the two epics, what are we to make of it? If we take the epic poems to be recording genuine historical facts, to convey, in other words, some kind of reminiscence of real historical relationships, how are we to read their differences in this respect? Are they to be attributed to the differences of time, region, and dynasty that characterize other forms of social and political practice as they are represented in the two epic

traditions?³⁸ Are we, for example seeing two stages in the evolution of the relationships between an urban *varṇa* society economically grounded on the activities of cultivators and merchants and the tribal societies of hunters and gatherers with which they would, as such groups have historically been elsewhere in the world, in conflict over arable land and trade routes? And if this is so, can we be sure which stage, conflict or cooperation, is earlier and which later? The historical record of other lands in much more recent times indicates that either of these relationships can succeed other.³⁹

Or, as I believe equally plausible, may we not regard these difference as artifacts more of literary genre and social didacticism than of historical fact? For, as noted above, the ways in which the two central groups of epic heroes, the Pāṇḍavas and the Ikṣvākus, relate to ethnically different and subordinate peoples seem to the ways in which they interact with their own kinsmen. Thus where Vyāsa's discourse is of *bheda*, *jaya*, and *dharmayuddha* all taking place within the bosom of the poem's central *kṣatriya* family, Vālmīki is meticulous in directing virtually all conflict away from the Kosalan dynasty and, indeed, away from the entire human race towards the realms of half civilized beasts and inherently evil monsters. Thus where the *Mahābhārata* is the epic par excellence of social upheaval and familial strife, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in sharp contrast, is a virtual ode to the regulated social order of the *varṇāśramadharma* and, above all to familial harmony. May we not then see the differing treatments of the relationships between the *kṣatriyas* and the tribals in the two authors as simply in conformity with their differing social visions and didactic purposes?

I believe that this topic deserves further study and that until such study has been devoted to it, I would suggest that we should be cautious in seeing either of these great poems, or any of their innumerable episodes as unambiguous evidence for any consistent historical relationship between differing ethnicities in ancient India or as warrants for such relationships in the India of today.

38 Cf. for example the fact that social practice with regard to women appears to differ sharply between the world of the Bhāratas and that of the Ikṣvākus. Thus while the Mbh. narrative abounds in dramatic instances of *niyoga* and *sahagamana*, these controversial practices are all but unknown to the Rām.

39 Cf. the history of contact between Europeans and native tribal populations in the Americas.

BUDDHIST ARCHAEOLOGY IN GUJARAT *

By

RAJENDRA L. NANAVATI ‡

Dear Colleagues and Friends,

I am sorry to start this address with a sad note. A great name in Buddhist archaeology, Prof. R. N. Metha, ex-head, Department of Archaeology M. S. University of Baroda, has left this world suddenly last week around noon on Wednesday, 22nd January, 1997. In 1966, he had led the excavation at Devni Mori near Shamlaji (on the Ahmedabad-Udaipur Road, near the border of Gujarat) and unearthed remains of a very large Buddhist Monastery, a very large *Stūpa*, one *Cāitya* and one more monastery.¹ These are dated by scholars to belong to 4th Century A.D. His findings proved to be a landmark in the history of Buddhism in Gujarat. It was he who inspired me to present in my address a history of Buddhism in Gujarat on the basis of Archaeological finds and the design of Almighty is that I have to begin my address by offering my homage to this great versatile scholar-student of Archaeology and Sanskrit, particularly *śūrāṇas*.

I also reverently remember and pay my respects to the great savants like Professors Sylvan Levi, G. P. Malalasekara, P. V. Bapat, V. V. Gokhale, A. L. Thakur etc., who in the past have adorned this honourable chair.

I welcome you all, friends, in this section of Pali and Buddhism (including Tibetology) at this 38th Session of All-India Oriental Conference at Calcutta. I take this opportunity to thank all my friends who showed confidence in me and put on me the responsibility of carrying out the proceedings of this section. I earnestly hope that, with the blessings of my predecessors in this chair and with your co-operation, I shall be able to discharge my presidential duties without much difficulty.

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* Address Delivered as the President of Pali And Buddhism (Including Tibetology) Section at the All-India Oriental Conference (Session-38) at Jadavpur University Calcutta, on 28-30 January-1997.

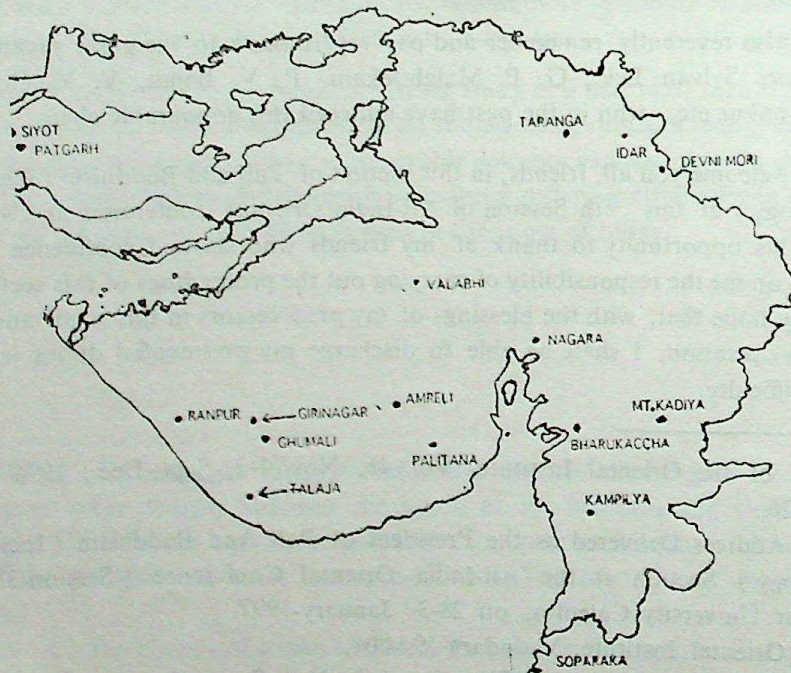
‡ Oriental Institute, Vadodara-390 001,

1 Mehta R. N. and Chaudhary S. N., *Excavation at Devni Mori* Pub. Department of Archaeology, M. S. University of Baroda. Baroda, 1966.

As you know, the first half, particularly the second quarter of the first millennium B. C. saw the surging of a movement against the Brahmanical sacerdotal excesses the culmination of which within the Brahmanical circles was the Upaniṣadic literature. Outside, it gave rise to the various so-called heretical views like Cārvākas, Ājīvakas, Jainism etc. Among these Buddhism seems to have attracted a very large following from the beginning. The reason for this is that Buddha's main concern was the removal of human suffering. He propounded his views *bahu-jana-hitāya, bahu-jana-sukhāya*. As a result, people from all sections of society flocked around him and wanted to adopt and practise his teachings by joining the *Saṅgha*.

These large numbers, in turn, gave rise to the problems of social and cultural management of the *Saṅgha*. The whole of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* is concerned with the rules and regulations (and their exceptions) of the management of *Saṅghas* of *Bhikkhus* and *Bhikkhunis*-Buddhist monks and nuns. The *Vinaya-piṭaka* shows Buddha's concern, his struggle to maintain the social structure of the *Saṅghas* in keeping with the spirit of Buddhism and without losing sight of the goals of avoiding all excess and achieving human, or rather universal peace.

This Buddhist concern for human peace is expressed in Buddhist literature like the *Tiṭiṭaka*, the *Avadānas*, the *Jāṭaka*-tales etc., as well as in the material relics like Buddhist *Stūpas*, *Caityas*, *Vihāras*, iconography (of Buddha and his



Places of Buddhist Archaeological interest in Gujarat.

associate deities) etc. The architecture of the *Stūpas* reveals simplicity and suggests peace. Largely they were situated on grounds for easy accessibility. The architecture of the Buddhist *Vihāras* reflects the community spirit of the Buddhist *Saṅgha*. The main thrust of the Buddhist images is towards the development of a peaceful personality as indicated by all the schools of Buddhist art. These, therefore, shall serve as the sources of information for our purpose: the Buddhist literature, as well as Buddhist archaeological remains such as rock-edicts, coins, excavated sites, epitaphs, copper-plates etc.

The earliest reference to Buddhism in Gujarat during Buddha's own lifetime is found in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*.² The area of Gujarat was known as *Aparānta* in those days. One Pūrṇa from Sūnāparānta i.e. South Gujarat had become a Buddhist Bhikkhu. Once when Buddha was in the city of Śrāvastī, this Bhikkhu Pūrṇa from Aparānta, steeped fully in the Buddhist teachings, went upto him and asked his permission to return to his native land.

Buddha asked : " In which region will you move, O Pūrṇa ? "

" *Bhante*, there is a region called Sūnāparānta, there shall I move. "

" People of Sūnāparānta are aggressive and harsh, O Pūrṇa; if they become angry with you or speak harsh words, how will you feel ? "

" I shall understand that they are kind, indeed very kind, that they are not attacking me. "

" Perhaps, if they attack you, O Pūrṇa, how will you feel ? "

" I shall understand that they are kind, indeed very kind, that they are not beating me with sticks. "

" And if they beat you with sticks, O Pūrṇa ? "

" I shall that they are not harming me with weapons. "

" And if they harm you with weapons ? "

" I shall that they are not killing me with their weapons. "

" And if they kill you ? "

" I shall because some of the initiates of the lord, fed up with the life, seek some weapon to end their lives, whereas I got the weapon without effort. "

" Well done, Pūrṇa, you will be able to stay in that region. "

Pūrṇa returned to his native region and the text says, converted 500 householders to Buddhism in that very year.

This incident shows that during the life-time of Lord Buddha himself, a sizeable number of people in Gujarat had embraced Buddhism which, if we believe the text, must have been spreading in this area quite fast.

2 *Saṃyutta Nikāya* 34.4.6.

*Divyāvadāna*³ also narrates an incident wherein one Punnatherī from Sopāraka approached Buddha in Śrāvastī and was preached by him the *Punṇavādasutta*. Today Sopāraka is in Maharashtra but in ancient time it was in the southern part of the Aparānta or South Gujarat.

There is another incident in *Vinayapiṭaka*⁴ in which a Buddha Bhikkhu from Bharukaccha dreamt of having slept with a woman and believed that he had committed the sin of *Pārājika*. But master Upāli declared him to be free of the sin. Upāli was a direct disciple of Buddha.

These three incidents featuring either Buddha himself or his direct disciple indicate that Buddhism had come to Gujarat during the lifetime of Buddha himself and had received a warm welcome. We can surmise that the Buddhism must have found the atmosphere in Gujarat quite conducive to its growth and must have taken roots and developed a large following rapidly.

That is why we find numerous references to this area, particularly the well-known sea-port Bharukaccha in Buddhist literature. The incident of the Bharukaccha monk mentioned above is referred to again as *Bharukaccha Vatthu* in later literature⁵. The Jātakas also often refer to Bharukaccha. Thus the *Bharu Jātaka* (No. 213) mentions a Bodhisattva once going to the Bharu region for the purchase of salt and liquor; the *Suppāraka Jātaka* (No. 463) mentions a Bodhisattva once being born as the best sailor of Bharukaccha; *Sussondi Jātaka* (No. 360) mentions Bharukaccha as having regular trade-route-connections with Suvarṇabhūmi or South-East Asia (particularly Malaya, Jāvā, Sumātrā, etc.) via Sopāraka on the one hand, and with Vārāṇasī via the desert of Rajasthan on the other.

When we come to the times of Emperor Aśoka the Great (273-237 B.C.) we find that he has inscribed one rock-edict at Girnar deep into Saurashtra⁶ and has erected one pillar with *Dharmalipi* inscribed on it at Sopāraka⁷. One more lion-top possibly of a pillar of similar nature has also recently been found in Bharuch⁸. This means Aśoka had encompassed almost the entire area of Aparānta with his edicts. At his instance again, the third religious conference of Buddhists was convened, in 263 B.C., at Pāṭaliputra under the convenorship of Moggaliputta Tissa, the preceptor of Aśoka. Tissa decided to send various

3 *Divyāvadāna*, Cowell and Neil, Eds; Ch-II pp. 24-55.

4 Ed. Oldenberg. III. p. 39.

5 e.g. Buddhaghōṣa, *Samantapāsādikā*, I. p. 283.

6 Mukerji Radhakumud, *Aśoka*, p. 13-14.

7 *Ibid.*

8 Parmar K. C., *Gujarat mān Buddha Kalā ane Sthāpatya*, Ph.D. thesis, Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad, 1996.

Bhikkhus in different regions and countries to establish and propagate *Dhamma*; accordingly, Bhikkhu Yonaka Dharmarakṣita Sthavira was entrusted the responsibility of propagating *Dhamma* in the Aparānta region⁹ and sent there with four other Bhikkhus (to fulfil the condition of quorum i.e. *gaṇa-pūraka saṅkhyā* for the rite of initiation). Buddhaghōṣa, in his commentary *Samantapāsādikā* on *Vinayaṭṭakā*¹⁰, mentions that Dharmarakṣita could persuade 37,000 persons to embrace Buddhism with the help of the *Aggikhaṇḍopama Sutta* from the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. Now when Buddhism was the royal faith and the royal preceptor himself was actively engaged in the efforts to spread Buddhism in all directions far and wide, it is only a simple logical deduction that nearly whole of the Aparānta region must have turned Buddhist. *Petavatthu*¹¹ narrates an interesting incident. In Mauryan times, there was a feudal king Piṅgalaka in Saurashtra who had faith in the '*nāḍiṭṭhika-dīṭṭhi*'. Leaving the administrative responsibilities with his army-chief Nandaka, the king enthusiastically proceeded to convert emperor Aśoka to his faith! And returned a confirmed and enthusiastic Buddhist himself!!

It appears from the rock-edicts of Aśoka and Rudradāman found in one place that the city of Girinagar situated on the west side of Mt. Girnar of today was the principal regional administrative centre of this area. Rather, that was the principal reason for selecting this site for the rock-edict. It is therefore quite likely that some of the rock caves and even brick monasteries might have been prepared by Aśoka on or around Mt. Girnar. The remains of a large monastery found at Ghumli¹² near Junagarh also seem to indicate that it belongs to the 3rd century B.C.

Aśoka encouraged his son Mahendra and daughter Saṅghamitrā to embrace Buddhism and sent them to Ceylon for spreading Buddhism there¹³. Obviously they went by the Bharukaccha-Sopāraka route. With them went some inhabitants of Aparānta also. Now from the time of Mahendra reaching Ceylon (247 B.C.) to the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi of Ceylon the holy texts of *Tipiṭaka* were traditionally transmitted by the word of mouth. Vaṭṭagāmaṇi first committed them to writing (in 29-1 B.C.) but before that it was the burden of the visitors from Aparānta to Ceylon to maintain the oral tradition of *Tipiṭaka*¹⁴.

9 *Mahāvamsa*, p. 3-; *Dīpavamsa*, VIII 7.

10 Mukerji Radhakumud, *Asoka*, p. 33.

11 Chatterji Charan Das, "A Historical Character in the Reign of Aśoka Maurya", *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, p. 39; *Petavatthu*, P.T.S., p. 57-61; *Paramitthadīpanī*, P.T.S., pp. 244-257.

12 Shastri K. K. and Mehta Savita, *Ghumli*, Rajkot, 1982, pp. 118-119.

13 Mukerji Radhakumud, *Asoka*, pp. 5-6.

14 Sankrityayan Rahul, *Pāli Sāhitya Kā Itihās*, Lucknow, pp. 1-5, Ed. *Vinayaṭṭakā*, Sarnath, 1935, Intro. pp. 6-7.

The language of the present Pāli *Tipiṭaka*, therefore, is very different from the original Māgadhī and reveals many oral linguistic characteristics of the language of the Aparānta region.

The period after Aśoka's death and before the advent of Sātavāhanas (237 B.C.-23 A.D.) is dark and there are no archaeological evidences for Buddhism in Gujarat during this period. But of course Buddhism did prevail in Gujarat. Some Buddhist rock caves, (for example, those of Bāvā Pyārā in Junagarh¹⁵ or of Zinzurī-zār¹⁶ near Dhank, Ta. Upleta, Dist. Rajkot) seem to belong to this period. Again the coins of the Bahlik king Aukratid who ruled over Kabul and Kandahar (B.C. 165-155)¹⁷ are found in abundance in Saurashtra suggesting that he might have ruled over it. Aukratid was succeeded by Menander, the famous Buddhist Ionian king Milinda of *Milinda-Pañha*,¹⁸ who seems to have extended his kingdom upto Saurashtra and South Gujarat. His coins were in currency in Barygaza (Bharuch) upto A.D. 70-80, records the author of *Periplus*.¹⁹ Naturally, under Milinda, Buddhism must have thrived in the Gujarat region.

Then follows the age of the western Kṣatrapas who ruled over Gujarat and parts of Rajasthan and Malwa for nearly four centuries (23-398 A.D.). These Kṣatrapas have left many archaeological remains which reveal that they were Buddhists. The second king Nahapāna had his capital in Bharukaccha. Eight of his cave-inscriptions are found which reveal the extent of his rule over Gujarat as well as parts of Rajasthan and Malwa.²⁰ His son-in-law Usavadāta had donated some caves as well as the village Chikhli near Surat in South Gujarat to the Buddhist *Saṅghas*.²¹ Two brothers Buddhamitra and Buddharakṣita from Bharuch had, around this time, donated a rock-cut cave in Junnar (Maharashtra).²² Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena-I (200-222 A.D.) got built a large brick monastery for the Buddhist *Saṅgha* near Girinagar.²³ Rudrasena-III (343-380

15 Burgess James, *Report on the Antiquities of Kathiawar and Kutch*, 1874-75.

16 Mehta R. N., *Atit ne Are* (Guj.), Baroda, 1933, p. 31.

17 Naren A. K., *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford, 1957, p. 53, 70 ff.

18 Vadekar R. D. and Bhat M.S., Eds., *Milinda-panho*, Bombay, 1972.

19 *Periplus*, para 47.

20 Jamindar Rasesh, *Ksatrap Kāl nun Gujarāt*, Ahmedabad, 1975, pp. 63-64.

21 *Ibid.* p. 64 and *Epigraphia Indica*, X, p. 53.

22 *Ibid.* Appendix, p. 133.

23 Shastri Chhabra, *Antiquity India*, XXVIII, pp. 174 ff.

A.D.) was the last important king of the Kṣātrapa lineage. The large Buddhist *Stūpa* and monastery, the remains of which were excavated in 1903 at Devni Mori (near Shamlaji) by the now late Prof. R. N. Mehta,²⁴ appear to be built during his regime and under his instructions. This *Stūpa* was perhaps the most important one in Gujarat because it was built over a stone-casket containing the remains of Lord Buddha himself as revealed by the epitaph inscribed on the casket²⁵. The remains are said to be brought by the monk Agnivarmā and Sudarśana. (This Sudarśana could be the one mentioned by the Tibetan historian Tarānath. He was the prince of king Darśana of Bharukaccha and was initiated by master Sukāyana)²⁶. The site of the monastery appears to be on the conjunction of three very important ancient trade-routes: One leading eastward through the Rajasthan desert to Vārāṇasi, the second leading westward through the well-known ancient sea-port of Cambay to Girinagar and the third southward leading to the very famous Bharukaccha. Many Kṣātrapa coins found from the site favour the identification of the Rudrasena mentioned on the casket as Rudrasena-III. The large monastery close by the *Stūpa* also indicates a similar significance of this site of the tri-conjunction of important and busy trade-routes. There are some rock-caves in the hills by Idar²⁷ about 45 kms from the site of the Devni Mori *Stūpa*. These caves are peculiarly significant as they have rock-paintings of the *Stūpas* which doubtless indicate the Devni Mori *Stūpa* and provide a significant marker of the movement of the Buddhist monks and lay-followers.

The glorious Guptas had a very brief sway over the northern part of Gujarat during the reign of Kumāragupta (415-455 A.D.) and Skandagupta (455-467 A.D.)²⁸. The only probable Buddhist remain of this period is that of a very large monastery unearthed by Prof. S. R. Rao in 1952-53 at the Gohilwad mound of Amreli city

During this period, the Aparānta or South Gujarat upto Śūpāraka was taken over by the Traikūṭaka kings Indradatta (415-440 A.D.) and Dahrasena

24. above footnote no. 1.

25. *Ibid.* pp. 118-122.

26. Taranath, *History of Buddhism in India*, Tr. Ghosal U.N. and Dutt Nalinaksa, 1HQ., VII. p. 155.

27. Sonavane V.H., "Stupas: A Rare Depiction in Rock-Paintings of Gujarat, India", in *Purātattva*, No. 23, 1992-93, (New Delhi) pp. 66-69.

28. Majumdar R. C. et. al. *An Advanced History of India*, New York, 1967, p. 143.

(440-465 A.D.) A *Caitya* constructed in the Great Monastery at Krishnagiri (Kanheri caves near Mumbai) by them is referred to later on²⁹.

With the death of Skandagupta (-67 A.D.) the age of the outside rulers in Gujarat ended and an age of local or indigenious government began. Senāpati Bhaṭārka (468-480 A.D.) of Maitraka lineage established his independent rule with its capital at Valabhī (present Valā).³⁰ Very little information about this royalty is found in literature or rock-inscriptions. But more than a hundred copper-plates of these rulers are found giving us abundant information about this very important royal lineage which gloriously ruled over Gujarat for more than three centuries (468-789 A.D.) and led it to unprecedented political dignity and cultural heights. Bhaṭārka is a Parama Māheśvara himself but he built one Buddhistic monastery well-known as *Bhaṭārka Vihāra* in Valabhī near the *Abhyantarikā Vihāra*. After him came his prince Dharasena-I (480-500 A.D.), who was followed by his younger brother Droṇasiṅha (500-520 A.D.). Droṇasiṅha donated land for the temple of a Buddhist goddess Pāṇḍurājā, perhaps the *Śakti* of Amitābha, one of the five Dhyāni Buddhas. Next king Dhruvasena-I (520-550 A.D.), the only Parama Bhāgavata in the line, gave away three donations to Buddhist monasteries. His sister's daughter, Duddā by name, had adopted Buddhism and built one monastery. The second donation is given commonly to *Duddā Vihāra* and to that of Bhadanta Buddhādāsa. Next important king Guhasena (555-570 A.D.) added fresh territories to his kingdom and brought the entire Ānarta which is almost equal to the area of today's Gujarat and South Rajasthan under his rule. All the three copper-plates of Guhasena are his gift-records to Buddhist monasteries and he seems to have leaned to Buddhism in later part of his life. One of his two donations to *Duddā Vihāra* mentions the purposes of renovation, food and clothing for monks, things needed for Buddha's worship and books of *sad-dharma*. This indicates that the monasteries maintained libraries also. The third is for the resident and guest monks of the 18 Nikāyas in *Abhyantarikā Vihāra* built by Mimmā. This Mimmā also appears to be a royal lady of the Maitraka family. Next king Dharasena (570-595 A.D.) also gave donations (3 copper-plates) to monasteries in Valabhī, near Valabhī and elsewhere in Saurashtra. After him, king Śīlāditya-I (595-612 A.D.) spread his rule upto Malwa. He has given donations to two Vihāras which he himself caused to be built. Two are given to the nuns' monasteries of Yakṣasūra and two to monasteries in Junagarh and Pālitāṇā in Saurashtra. He

29. Shastri H. G. *Itihās nān Sādhan Tarīke Gujārat nā Abhilekh*, (Guj.), Ahmedabad, 1983, pp. 9,22.

30. Much of the information about the Maitraka kings gathered below is based on *Maitraka-kālīn Gujārāt* (Parts I & II) (in Gujarati) by Dr. Hariprasad G. Shastri, Ahmedabad, 1955.

is called *Dharmāditya* in *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* and his kingdom is called *Lāṭa* (which is *Lāṭa*) which included Saurashtra, Ānarta and Malwa. He is said there to have built many Vihāras. Chinese traveller Huen-Tsang also employs high words for this king who, he says, has wide knowledge, deep wisdom, literary flare, and great regard for *tri-ratna* i.e. the three gems of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. He possessed *maitrī* and *karuṇā*. He caused a Vihāra to be built near his palace, instituted images of seven Buddhas in it, would invite *mokṣa parisad* every year and invite bhikkhus from all the four directions to it, give the four things (*kalaśa*, *kuṇḍī*, *pātra* & *āsana*), three *cīvaras* and seven valuable gems to each of them. Thus Śīlāditya appears not only to have great love for Buddhism, but to be a Buddhist lay-follower himself. Buddhism in his reign must have been at its brightest in Gujarat.

After him two insignificant kings Kharagraha and Dharasena III ruled each for five years. Next important ruler is Dhruvasena II (625-643 A.D.) who assumed the title *Bālāditya* and spread the fame of Maitraka rule in the entire nation. Soon after coronation, he married the daughter of emperor Harṣa. He seems to have commanded an important place in the sixth Five-Year Conference convened by Lord Harṣa in 644 A.D. During his regime, Huen Tsang seems to have visited his capital Valabhī in 640 A.D., and notes that the king has recently leaned towards Buddhism. But he seems to have continued Śīlāditya's practice of convening an annual conference of Buddhist monks. He gave donations to Buddhist Vihāras: to *Gohaka Vihāra* for monks near that of Duddā in Valabhī and to Puṇḍarīka's *Śākya Vihāra* for nuns near *Yakṣaśūra Vihāra*. Dhruvasena's son Dharasena IV (643-650 A.D.) ruled for brief seven years but expanded his territory the largest and was the only Maitraka ruler to assume the title *Cakravartin*. He had no son; therefore, in two donations he sends as *dūtaka* his princess Bhūpā from his Bharukaccha royal camp, a rare instance. He gave donations to a Buddhist Vihāra in Yodhāvaka village in Saurashtra. This plate shows that the image of Buddha was now worshipped with *dhūpa*, *dīpa*, *snāna*, flowers etc., like the images of Hindu gods and goddesses. This is confirmed by one plate of the next Dhruvasena III (650-655 A.D.) who like his follower Kharagraha (655-660 A.D.) ruled for only five years. Next ruler Śīlāditya III (660-685 A.D.) is actually the son of Śīlāditya II. He lost Bharuch in South Lāṭa to Chaulukyas in 677 A.D. All the following Maitraka rulers, on coronation, seem to bear the name Śīlāditya. Thus we have Śīlāditya VI (685-710 A.D.), Śīlāditya V (710-735), Śīlāditya VI (735-760) and Śīlāditya VII (760-788). The Maitraka rule came to an end in 788 A.D. on account of the devastating attack of Saleem Yunisee, the Arab ruler of Sindh. Thereafter the various parts of the Maitraka kingdom were ruled by different dynasties: Rāṣṭrakūṭas on middle and south Gujarat and Cāpa, Cālukya and Saindhava kings in East, South and West Saurashtra respectively. The rich and vast Valabhī could never attain its previous glory thereafter.

During the rule of the Maitrakas, Buddhism seems to have flourished very well in Saurashtra, North Gujarat, Kaira District, Middle Gujarat, Malwa and South West Rajasthan. In their copper-plates we find references to a number of Buddhist monasteries for monks as well as nuns. Valabhī seems to be an important centre of Vihāras. There appear to be two *maṇḍalas* or groups of Vihāras in and around Valabhī : one around Dudda Vihāra for monks and the other around *Yakṣaśāra Vihāra* for nuns. Huen-Tsang mentions that there were about 3000 Buddhist monks in these Vihāras around Valabhī. Some of the rulers and some royal ladies adopt Buddhism and cause Vihāras to be built. Dudda Vihāra seems to obtain royal patronage for nearly 225 years. All the kings are favourable to Buddhism and give donations to Buddhist Vihāras. Girinagar, close by the present city of Junagarh and Mt. Girnar seems to be another important centre of Buddhist activities with many Vihāras. Buddha's images are carved or cast, they are enshrined in the Vihāras and are worshipped with lamp, incense, bath, flowers, etc., like those of the Hindu deities. This, therefore, was the stage of Mahāyāna Buddhism in which Vihāras seem to have libraries also. The third city of Buddhist activities was Nagarā,³¹ three kilometres from today's Khambhat. The city began its life from 5th-6th Century B.C. but Buddhism seems to have come to it from 2nd cent. B.C. and continued upto 12-13th cent. A.D. Al Idris, a traveller who visited Cambay in 1153 A.D. says the people of Cambay are Buddhists and the king of Anhilwad worships the image of Buddha.³² A very large image of Buddha with *Dharmacakra* was worshipped there since centuries.³³ The other two centres of Devni Mori and Bharukaccha also must have been thriving since the royalties were favourable and since both of them were situated on key-junctions of busy national trade-routes. One more centre seems to have come up some time during the Maitraka age in Kāmpilya (8 kms) near Navasārikā of South Gujarat. Rashtrakuta royal prince Dantivarman gives donation to this *Kāmpilya Vihāra Tirtha* in 819 A.D.³⁴ Even Dhārāvārṣa Dhruvarāja II also gave donation to this Vihāra. It is said to be a great Buddhist Tirtha, situated on the banks of river Maddāvi in the Kāntāragrāma area, it was built by sage Kāmpilya and it housed 500 Bauddha Bhikkhus. Its chief monk in 884 was the famous monk Sthiramati.³⁵ In fact, in 851 A.D.,

31 Shah U. P., 'Gujarāt mām Bauddha dharma' in *Svādhyāya (Gujarati)* Vol. 1. No. 3, p. 305.

32 Eliot & Dowson, *History of India as Told by Its own Historians* London, 1867, pp. 85-87.

33 Mehta R. N., 'Nagarā nī Buddha Pratimā' in *Svādhyāya*, Vol. No. 1, 3.

34 Acharya G. V., *Gujarat nā Aitihāsik Lekha* (Guj.) Part II, Mumbai, 1935, text No. 128.

35 *Ibid*, p. 185.

i.e. 210 years after Huen-Tsang came, one Arab merchant Suleman³⁶ says Buddhism is the principal religion of the western India. I-Tsing even mentions the *nikāyas* which were prevalent in western India. *Sammitīyā Nikāya* was prevalent especially in Mālavā, Valabhī and Ānandapura (today's Vaḍanagara) whereas the bhikkhus of Saurashtra and Bharukaccha were followers of Sthavira-nikāya, yet they were Mahāyānists, says Huen-Tsang³⁷.

There have also been some famous Buddhist scholars-bhikkhus from Gujarat. Chinese sources reveal that bhikkhu Dharmagupta of Lāṭadeśa was a very important scholar to go to China in the sixth cent. A.D. After halting at various Buddhist centres of Kapisha, Tukhar, Badakshan, Vakhān, Tosh Kurgan and Kuchi, Karasahr, Turfan and Hami for a year or two each, Dharmagupta reached Chang-ngan in 590 A.D. and stayed with its king till his own death in 619.³⁸ He has translated a number of Buddhist works into Chinese. Huen-Tsang mentions two ācāryas Sthiramati and Guṇamati of Saurashtra. He also mentions monk Acala who got built one Vihāra near Valabhī and another above the famous caves of Ajanta.³⁹ Tibetan historian Tārānātha gives the life of the well-known Buddhist master Śāntideva.⁴⁰ He was born in Saurashtra as the prince of king Kalyāṇavarman. Inspired by goddess Tārā he relinquished royal throne and Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, it is said, initiated him into Buddhism. He wrote *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, *Sūtra-samuccaya* and *Śikṣā-samuccaya*. He was a great Mahāyānist scholar among the luminaries like Atisa Dīpaṅkara, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva and Aśvaghōṣa. This tradition seems to continue upto 13th century. Dharmottara writes commentary on the *Nyāya-bindu* of Dharmakīrti in 13th century on which the Jain Mallavādī writes a commentary *Dharmottara-tiṭṭhanikā* manuscripts of which are preserved in Cambay and Jesalmer.⁴¹

Indications of the existence of Buddhism continue upto 13th century. It was a living faith in 13th century. The minister Assarāja of king Dhavala of Dholkā becomes a Buddhist monk in 1238 A.D.⁴² Even before, king Karnaḍeva (1064-1094), the father of the famous Siddharāja Jayasimha, fell in love with princess Mayaṇallā of Candor (Candrapura) in Goa through the mediatory efforts of the Buddhist painters⁴³. The famous drama *Karnaṇḍarī* of Bilhaṇa

36. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. 1. Book II: Bombay, 1896, p. 505.

37. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*. Vol. II. pp. 261-262.

38. Bagchi P. C., *India and China* pp. 47-48.

39. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

40. Bendle, ed. *Śikṣāsamuccaya of Śāntideva*, Introduction.

41. Shah U. P., *op. cit.* pp. 321-2.

42. Dixit Moreswar J., 'History of Buddhism in Gujarat'. *Journal of Gujarat Research Society*, Mumbai, 1946, p. 113.

43. Sankalia H. D., *Archaeology of Gujarat*, Bombay, 1941, p. 232.

is written 'o epitomise this event. Jain Ācārya Somaprabha in his *Kumāropāla-pratibodha* says that the Bauddha king Veṇī-Vatsarāja caused the temple of the Buddhist goddess Tārā to be built on Mount Tāraṅgā in north Gujarat, from which the image of goddess Tārā in *Lalitāsana* (10th cent. A.D.) and some other Buddhist images are found.⁴⁴ Tāraṅgā, thus, was a Buddhist centre first, then it turned into a Jaina Tirtha. Even the famous Buddhist work *Tattva-saṁgraha* of Śāntarakṣita was preserved in the Jaina Grantha-bhaṇḍāras only. (It is now published in G.O.S.). In the *Pañcaviṁśati sāhasrika Prajñāpāramitā*, an illustrated palmleaf manuscript mentioning and describing and illustrating Buddhist deities and their Tirthas of the entire India, three are shown from Gujarat: Tārā at Tārāpura, Kurukullā on Mt. Kurullā and Cundā in the Vunkārā city.⁴⁵

After 11th century Buddhism seems to disappear from Gujarat and, for that matter, from the entire nation. Various reasons are given for this phenomenon. The mughals and muslims were devastating the centres of Buddhism and Hinduism vehemently and systematically. They demolished their temples, burnt their libraries, persecuted monks cruelly. Hence Indian Buddhist monks took refuge in neighbouring countries like Burma, Siam, Tibet etc. Another reason appears to be that Buddha was accepted as one of the incarnations of Lord Viṣṇu. So it came to be enfolded in Vaishnavism and disappeared. One more reason valid for Gujarat appears to be that Jainism gradually secured a strong royal support, commanded public following and removed Buddhism. Some scholars believe that after 8th-9th century Buddhism took a Vajrayānic turn, and this fact weakened the inner strength of Buddhism which collapsed against outer onslaughts. Some believe that the Vedāntic upsurge of Gauḍapāda and his follower, the Great Śāṅkarācārya, dealt a deadly blow to Buddhism by adopting the Buddhist principles for Vedāntic purposes.

Whatever the cause, it is a fact that Buddhism disappeared from Gujarat as well as from India in the 13th century.

44 Gadre A. S., 'Buddhist Influence in Gujarat and Kathiawar', *Journal of Gujarat Research Society*, 1-4, 1939, p. 66.

45 Shah U. P., *op.cit.*, pp. 320-21.

ON A LUNAR ILLUSTRATION IN SOME MSS. OF MATISĀRA'S
DHANYA-ŚĀLIBHADRA-CARITA

By

H. C. BHAYANI*

In his paper titled 'A Lunar Illustration occurring in several Manuscripts of the *Dhanya-Śālibhadracarita*, an old Gujarati Vork of XVIIth-XVIIIth Cent. A D.', the late Dr. Ernest Bender¹ has described, as specified in the title, an illustration occurring in five of the numerous MSS. of the poem which was composed by the Jain poet Matisāra (or Matisāgara) in 1622 A C.² There are numerous Jain works in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Old Gujarati based on the legend of Dhanya and Śālibhadra. The illustration described by Bender relates to an event in the story the outline of which also he has given by way of introduction Bender has cited the lines of the poem which narrate the incident that form the theme of the illustration. The third of the thirtytwo wives of Śālibhadra who had anounced his decision to renounce the worldly life and become a monk, and who, accordingly was giving up one of his 32 wives each day, was painfully awaiting her turn on the night before the fateful morning, when her husband would abandon her. 'Overwrought, frantic with love she climbed to the roof of the house alone. The moon w uld soon disappear'.³ While there, she drew the figures of lions on the four sides. These are seen in the five illustrations, given in the MSS. with some difference of details. The moon is also shown in its last quarter and four li ns are shown on four sides. One of the captions of the illustration says 'the lions which are drawn around the moon will eat (it).' Bender has described in detail the illustration in each of the five manuscripts, but has not explained what is the point of Śālibhadra's wife drawing the four lions

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1. JAOS, 88, 4, 1968, pp. 709-711.

2. Bender's '*The Śālibhadra-Dhanna-carita*' has been published in the *American Oriental Series*, Vol. 73, 1992. On p. 16 there is reference to this illustration.

3. अति-आतुर नेह-गहेली, घर-ऊपरि चढिय अकेली ।

हरिणंक वही ए जास्यइ, मृगराज लिखइ चिहुं पासइ ॥ (17-54-67)

surrounding the moon and what is exactly the significance of the lions 'eating' the moon, as mentioned in one illustration.⁴

It seems to me that the motive behind Śālibhadra's wife's actions is to stop the moon from setting, so that the night may not dawn and consequently Śālibhadra cannot carry out his decision to leave her. This she strives to achieve by drawing the figure of four lions which surround the moon in the four directions and which are eagerly awaiting to pounce upon the deer in the moon (and not on the moon itself as Bender thinks) the moment the latter descends on the horizon. The fear of the lions gobbling up its deer would deter the moon from descending and setting.

This explanation can find a support from a comparable situation that form the subject of a Sanskrit *Muktaka*.

The following *Muktaka* is relevant in this connection.

अगारेऽस्मिन् कान्ते गिरिशमनिशानाथ-शकलं
भुज्जगान्तुंगान् सकलमपि वातायन-पथे ।
निकुंजेषु श्येनानधिगृह्-शिरो राहु-बलयं
लिखित्या नीयंते शिव शिव तया हंत दिवसाः ॥⁵

'Alas ! O Lord Śiva, the days are (somehow) spent by her (i.e. Pārvatī) by drawing in this beautiful mansion (Śiva's portrait) with the moon's digit omitted, by drawing huge snakes in all the window-openings, by drawing hawks in arbours and by drawing the ring of Rāhu on the top of the mansion'.⁶

In order to avoid intensification of her pain of separation from Śiva and as a diversion, Pārvatī is described as spending her days in drawing Śiva with the digit of the moon omitted; the snakes would swallow the Malayānila. Hawks would scare away the cuckoos. Rāhu would swallow the moon. This last detail matches with what we find in the Dhanna-Śālibhadra illustration under

4. Bender's interpretation of the illustration as given in his edition of the *Śālibhadra-dhanna-carita* is as follows:

'The illustration depicts the wife on the roof of the house looking up at the moon, which is surrounded by four tigers, representing four quarters of the moon. When the fourth tiger takes its portion the dawn will appear'.

This interpretation, in my view, is erroneous.

5. सुभाषित-रत्न-भाण्डागार, २७६-३१; महासुभाषित-संग्रह, १८५

6. A. A. Ramnathan has misunderstood the verse under discussion and his translation given in the *Mahāsubhāṣita-saṃgraha* is to be corrected. *Mahāsubhāṣita-Saṃgraha* ed. L. Sternbach, Vol. I, 1974; *Subhāṣita-ratna bhāṇḍāgāra*, ed. Narayan Achary, 8th Ed., 1952.

discussion. In one case to avoid the moon-beams the drawing of Rāhu is used. In another case to stop the moon from descending to horizon and setting, lions are drawn so that the deer in the moon comes under the danger of being devoured by them.

I have come across this idea in another place in a *Duhā* couplet by a later poet Jamāla, whose *Duhās* in *Braja Bhāṣā* are current in folk tradition.⁷ The *Duhā* is as follows:

वायस राह भुजंग हर, त्रिया लिखति इहु ख्याल ।

लिखि लिखि मेटति कुनिहि कुनि, सुं कारण कुण जमाल ॥

‘The woman draws the figures of Crow, Rāhu, Snake and Śiva repeatedly and wipes them out With what idea in her mind (tell me), O Jamāla’.

7. *Jamāla's Duhās* I have published on the basis of a manuscript in late Muni Jinavijaya's collection. First published in *Urmi-navracanā* (a Gujarati literary monthly), 1979. Reprinted in my *Śodhakhoḷa-nī-pagdaṇḍī par*, 1996, pp. 168-171. The verse under reference is on p. 171.

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CONCEPT OF BHŪMI IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE

(with special reference to the Daśabhūmika Sūtra)†

By

NARASINGHA CHARAN PANDA*

The term 'bhūmi' is derived from the root $\sqrt{bhū}$ 'to be,' with the *uṇādi* suffix *mi* (by the *uṇādi* rule (IV 45) *bhūvaḥ kit*). Cf. Greek *phusis*, Sanskrit *bhavati*. Rāyamukūṭa a commentator of Amarakośa (II.1 :) has given the derivation of the same as: *bhūvaḥ kin* ($\sqrt{bhū} + kmin$). According to Hemacandra *bhūmi* is explained as: *bhūmiḥ kṣītau sthānamātre*.¹ It is used to denote soil, earth, place (in general), ground, level, stage and state of consciousness, in Vedic and Sanskrit literature.

In the Buddhist literature *bhūmi* has also several meanings, including ground, plane, stage, level and state of consciousness.² In a metaphorical sense, it is employed in a general way to denote 'range,' 'state,' 'sphere,' 'station,' 'condition,' 'function,' etc.

In the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* the term *bhūmi* is used to denote 'the place of origin' (i.e., the place of origin of a *dharma* is the *bhūmi* of this *dharma*).³ The author Vasubandhu has mentioned both the terms *mahābhūmi* and *mahābhūmika*. The *mahābhūmi* (great sphere) is so called because it is the sphere, the place of origin, of great *dharma*s (i.e., of *dharma*s of great extension, that are found everywhere). The *dharma*s, inherent in the *mahābhūmi* are called *mahābhūmika*, that is, the *dharma*s which are always found in all minds.⁴ Buddhaghoṣa in his commentary on the *Dīghanikāya* (1.54), explains the term *bhūmi* as : ' eight stations of people ' (*aṭṭha puriso-bhūmiyo*), viz., *maṇḍa-bhūmi*, *khiddā-bhūmi*, *vīmaṇsana-bhūmi*, *ujugata-bhūmi*, *sekha-bhūmi*, *samaṇa-bhūmi*, *jina-bhūmi* and *pañña-bhūmi*. These are the stages of a person's life, from birth till

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1. *Haimakośa*, II.335, also cf. *Medinikośa* XXV.22.

2. R. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, *Pāli-English Dictionary* (Reprint Ed. 1989), p. 508.

3. See English tr. by L. M. Pruden, Vol. I., Ch. II. 23cd, p. 189.

4. भूमिर्नाम गतिविषयः। यो हि यस्य गतिविषयः स तस्य भूमिः इत्युच्यते। तत्र महती भूमिरेषामिति महाभूमिकाः ये सर्वत्र चेतसि भवन्ति। *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, II.23cd.

the perfect stage of renunciation and mental equilibrium. In the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī bhūmi* is synonymous with *magga* (path).⁵ The *Visuddhimagga* (IV.9.3) uses *bhūmi* in words like *kāmāvacarabhūmi*, in the sense of plane.

The (*Mahāvastu* I, p. 77), defines *bhūmi* by saying that every existence of the Bodhisattvas is shortly defined as an earth, whence has arisen the name *bhūmi*. As a matter of fact these *bhūmis* are the various stages of development of the attributes of a Bodhisattva towards which he progressively advances. He gradually ascends from one stage to the next, up to the last or the tenth stage. But the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* states that the *bhūmis* are so called because beings enter into higher and higher immeasurable stages repeatedly. They are also known as *bhūmis*, as they deliver infinite beings from fear.⁶ *Bhūmi* are also termed states (*vihāra*) in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, because the Bodhisattvas feel delight in the states (*vihāra*) due to their manifold right aspirations.⁷

Though *bhūmis* are mentioned in the Buddhist Tantras⁸ places of pilgrimage (*piṭha*, etc.) they are identified with the stages of spiritual progress. Hence, a Bodhisattva is called 'Lord of the ten stages,' *daśabhūmiśvara*.

In the *Yogasūtra* (II.27) *bhūmi* means stages of meditation: तस्य सप्तधा प्रान्तभूमिः प्रज्ञा । It means, his (*yogī's*) intellectual vision possessed of 'final ground'⁹ is seven-fold. Besides, it mentions¹⁰ *dr̥ḍha-bhūmi*, *prānta-bhūmi*, etc.

Hence, *bhūmi* has become a philosophical term, meaning 'stage' or career, i.e. stages of spiritual progress for the attainment of perfect knowledge.

The concept of *bhūmi* goes back to a very early period in the history of Buddhist thought. Because the idea of establishing, 'stages' on the spiritual pilgrim's long journey occurred early to the Buddhist thinkers. The Hīnayānists developed the doctrine of the four stages, i.e., Hīnayāna recognises four states of spiritual progress, viz., (a) *sotāpanna* (entering upon the stream), (b) *sakadāgāmi* (returning once), (c) *anāgāmi* (a never returner), and (d) *arhat* (the state of an *arhant*).

5. 277, see also English translation by C.A.F. Rhys Davids. P.T.S. Publication (1974), pp. 74-75.

6. भूयो भूयोऽमितास्वासु ऊर्ध्वगमनयोगतः ।

भूतामिताभयार्थाय त एवेष्टा हि भूमयः ॥ MSūAl, XX-XXI.40, p. 519.

7. विविधे शुभनिहारे रत्या विहारणात्सदा ।

सर्वत्र बोधिसत्त्वानां विहारभूमयो मता ॥ *ibid*, v. 39.

8. *Amṛtakaṇṭhikā* on *Āryamañjuśrīnāmāsaṅgīti*, (Sarnath ed. 1994), p. 29. Cf. *Hevajra-Tantra* I.7.10-18.

9. 'Final ground' denotes that this Intellectual Vision has its cessation; so this happiness also should be avoided by the highest Non-attachment.

10. *Yogasūtra*, I.14, II.27, II.31, etc.

In Mahāyāna there is also the important factor of *bhūmi* or stages in the spiritual progress of a Bodhisattva. In the Mahāyāna works the number of *bhūmi* varies from text to text. But most of the available Buddhist Sanskrit works mention ten *bhūmis*. There are at least four different schemes of divisions in the principal Sanskrit texts. The earliest treatment of the subject is in the *Mahāvastu*, which refers ten *bhūmis*.¹¹ The *Śatasāhasrika-Prajñāpāramitā*,¹² and the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*¹³ also describe ten *bhūmis* each in different ways. The Bodhisattva Bhūmi mentions seven *bhūmis*¹⁴ and thirteen *viḥāras*.¹⁵ The *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, the *Pāñcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*, the *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra* and the like are also discussed a bit on the *bhūmis*.

The standard *bhūmis* accepted by the Mahāyānist are those referred to in the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*, which is the most systematic and authoritative work on the subject. It also goes under the name of *Daśabhūmika Śāstra*, *Daśabhūmīśvara* and the like. Ācārya Asaṅga in his *Daśabhūmi* has referred to it by the name of *Daśabhūmika*. It is remarkable evidence of its supreme authority and immense popularity that it has been translated into the Tibetan, Chinese, Japanese, Mongolian and other languages. The author of the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* manages to place almost all the important concepts and categories of Buddhist Philosophy in his scheme of ten *bhūmis*. Thus, for example, he puts the four *saṅgraha-vastus* in the first four *bhūmis*, the four Noble Truths in the fifth *bhūmi*, and so on. But his system exhibits a certain unity of plan on account of the parallelism between the ten *pāramitās* and the ten *bhūmis*. A Bodhisattva especially cultivates one of the *pāramitās* in each *bhūmi*.

Although *Mahāvastu* speaks of ten *bhūmis*, but its account is scanty and incoherent. It does not give details according to any plan, but *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* allots a *pāramitā* to each *bhūmi*. The *Mahāvastu* declares that a Bodhisattva may fall back into a lower *bhūmi* on account of certain faults, but

11. *Durārohā*, *Baddhamānā*, *Puṣpa-maṇḍitā*, *Rucirā*, *Cittavistāra* *Rūpavatī*, *Surjayā*, *Janamanideśa*, *Yauvarāja*, and *Abhiṣeka*.

12. 'This treatise mentions ten *bhūmis*, to which it does not assign any names.' Vide, Har Dayal : *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, Ch. VI, p. 275.

13. *Pramuditā*, *Vimalā*, *Praḥkāra*, *Arciṣmati* *Sudurjayā*, *Abhimukhī*, *Dūraṅgamā*, *Acalā*, *Sādhumatī*, and *Dharmameghā*.

14. *Gotra*, *Adhimukti-caryā*, *Śuddhā-śaya*, *Caryā-pratipatti*, *Niyata*, *Niyata-caryā*, and *Niṣṭhāgamana*.

15. *Gotra*, *Adhimukti-caryā*, *Pramuditā*, *Adhiśīla*, *Adhicitta*, *Adhiprajñā*, *Adhiprajñā* No. 1, *Adhiprajñā-vihāra* No. 2, *Sābhoga-nirnimitta*, *Anābhoga-nirnimitta*, *Pratiṣamvid*, *Parama*, and *Tathāgata*.

the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* never speaks of the possibility of retrogradation and always discusses virtues instead of sins. The names of *bhūmis* found in the *Mahāvastu* are different except for one,¹⁶ from those found in the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*.

The *Satasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* too mentions ten *bhūmis* to which it does not assign any names and mentions the same virtues and sins again and again. Its description on the *bhūmis* is not quite systematic. Hence, it also fails to evolve an intelligible system. The *Mahāvastu* too mentions ten Bodhisattva *bhūmis*, but explains these within nine verses.¹⁷ The names of *bhūmis* and *vihāras* mentioned in the *Bodhisattva Bhūmi* are, too different from those in the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*. According to Har Dayal, an eminent scholar in Buddhism, "the author of the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* has constructed the framework of his system on the basis of ten *pāramitās*, but the *Bodhisattva Bhūmi* divides a Bodhisattva's career up to a certain point according to the ancient triple formula of *śīla*, *saṃādhi* (*citta*) and *prajñā*. The two writers have not the same point of view. It is true that the author of the *Bodhisattva Bhūmi* makes an unsuccessful attempt to identify some of his *vihāras* with the *bhūmis* of the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* and cites some passages from that treatise. But the principles underlying the two systems remain divergent in all essential respects."¹⁸

In the conception of the *bhūmis* the *Mahāvastu* seems to be the earliest, the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts the middle, the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* and the like, the latest.¹⁹ As already said that the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* is the most systematic and authentic work on the subject, elaborates ten *bhūmis* (stages), through which a Bodhisattva must pass before he attains perfection. Here is given a brief account of each *bhūmi* of the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*.²⁰

16. It is *Durjayā-bhūmi* (difficult to conquer) in the *Mahāvastu* but *Sudurjayā bhūmi* (invincible) in the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*.

17. *Bhūminiruktivibhāge nava ślokāḥ* vide. MSūAI, XX-XXI, p. 514.

18. *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, Ch. VI, p. 272.

19. Dutt, N.: *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relation to Hinayāna*, p. 327.

20. The *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* consists of two sections, viz. (i) prose section, (ii) poetry (*gāthā*) section. The *gāthās* are not available in its oldest manuscripts. Besides, the *gāthās* occurring in the last chapter of the Johannes Rahder's edition are conspicuous by their absence in its earlier Manuscripts. Hence, most of the scholars of Mahāyāna Buddhism agree to accept the *gāthās* 'as later edition'. P. L. Vaidya in his Editorial remarks states: "I am inclined to believe that the *gāthā* portion of *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* is a positively late edition (*gāthāvivhāga*, p. 69). The present study is based on the prose section of the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*."

1. *Pramuditā Bhūmi*:

The first stage is named *pramuditā*,²¹ which means 'perfectly delightful'. A Bodhisattva enters this stage just after the production of the thought of enlightenment which annihilates all his previous sins. This *bhūmi* is called *pramuditā*, because supreme delight permeates this stages. As said in the *Daśa-bhūmika Sūtra* (I, p. 8), " प्रमुदितायां बोधिसत्त्वभूमौ स्थितो बोधिसत्त्वः प्रमुदितो भवति । " It means, when a Bodhisattva is steadily established in the stage called *pramuditā*, he becomes highly delighted.

The Bodhisattva realizes that he is now above an ordinary being and is liberated from rebirth in purgatory or any either inferior form of existence. He becomes exempt from five fears, viz., the fear of loss of livelihood, of reproachful language, of death, of evil destiny, and of diffidence in assemblies.²² A Bodhisattva who abides in this stage makes the following great *praṇidhānas*—to pay homage to all the Buddhas, to preserve the teachings of the good doctrine of all Buddhas, to approach the great *nirvāṇa* after accomplishing all the deeds to a Buddha, to render all the stages immaculate in order to produce thought to bring spiritual maturity of all creatures, to make knowable the diversity of the world system, to bring about the purification of all the lands of the Buddha, to cause to enter into the great vehicle, to practice all the courses of conduct of the Bodhisattvas and to achieve irresistibility of the state of all efforts, to accomplish perfect enlightenment, great knowledge and intuition.²³

The Bodhisattva now manifests many distinctive qualities and attitudes, selflessness, compassion, patience, humility, the study of all sciences, courage, bearing with others and patience, equanimity and truth are also listed in this connection. He gives away wealth, wife and children and his own limbs and life. He takes the ten great vows by means of ten *niṣṭhāpadas*²⁴ (inexhaustible vows), viz., *sat-vadhātuniṣṭhāpada*, *lokadhātu-niṣṭhāpada*, *ā-āśadhātu niṣṭhāpada*, *dharmadhātu-niṣṭhāpada*, *nirvāṇadhātu-niṣṭhāpada*, *buddhotpādadhātu-niṣṭhāpada*, *tathāgatajñānadhātu-niṣṭhāpada*, *cīttāmbanadhātu-niṣṭhāpada*, *buddhaviṣaya-jñāna-praveśadhātu-niṣṭhāpada*, *lokavartanī dharmavartanī jñānavartanīdhātu-niṣṭhāpada*.

In this *bhūmi* he practises the perfection of giving (*dāna-pāramitā*) with zeal and also cultivates the other perfections according to his capacity. He

21 The form ' *muditā* ' is also found in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* and in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*.

22 यदि दमाजीविकाभयं वा अश्लोकभयं वा मरणभयं वा दुर्गतिभयं वा पर्यच्छाद्यभयं वा, तानि सर्वाणि व्यपगतानि भवन्ति । . D Bhū Sū, p. 9.

23 For details, see DBhūSū, p. 10

24 तानि च महाप्रणिधानानि दशभिर्निष्ठापदैर्भिनिर्हरति । *ibid*, p. 11. Also cf. *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* XII.57.

earnestly desires to become the first, formost and best of all beings. He sets his energy in motion in conformity with his aspirations. He keeps company with the virtuous and longs for knowledge. As a result of it, he renounces his worldly belongings and adopts the religious instruction of the Buddha as a wandering monk, experiences hundreds of *samādhis*, live for a hundred aeons, and performs innumerable miracles. The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*²⁵ states that this *bhūmi* is so called because a Bodhisattva rejoices exceedingly as he perceives that he will soon attain enlightenment and promote the good of all beings. According to the *Mahāvastu* (I, p. 74) a Bodhisattva in the first *bhūmi* is enjoyed to practice liberality (*tyāga*), compassion (*karuṇā*), indefatigability (*aparikkheda*), humility (*amāna*), study of all the scriptures, heroism (*vikrama*), asking for permission or approval of people (*lokānujñā*) and fortitude (*dhṛti*). The Bodhisattva, in this stage, conceives the idea of attainment of perfect wisdom by means of accumulation of merits, the roots of goodness.

2. *Vimalā Bhūmi*:

The second level of consciousness is named *vimalā* (the state of purity). Those who are the sons of the knower should know that Bodhisattva who performed well in the first level of consciousness desires to ascend the next level of consciousness of Bodhisattva, where after reaching there his mental dispositions (*āśayas*) are of ten kinds, viz., *rju*, *mṛdu*, *karmaṇyo*, *dama*, *śama*, *kalyāṇa*, *aśaṃsrṣṭa*, *anapekṣa*, *udāra* and *māhāmya*. In this stage, a Bodhisattva takes the vow to get rid of all impurities. He always avoids the unwholesome course of actions of body, speech and mind, viz., killing, stealing unlawful intercourse, lying, slandering, harsh speech, covetousness, ill-will and wrong views; and persuades other to do so. He knows that these unwholesome actions lead to rebirth in purgatory, or in the world of brutes, ghosts or men, undergoing manifold miseries. He therefore, observes the wholesome course of actions in life and commands its observance to all others. He becomes their friend, guide, protector, teacher, and leads them to the path of righteousness. He pays his best attention to kindly speech, one of the ground of popularity (*saṃgrahavastu*). Moreover, the Bodhisattva attains the primacy of the quality of speaking in a loving manner (*priyavadyatā*) and moral perfection (*śīlapāramitā*) in this realm.²⁶

The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*²⁷ states that this *bhūmi* is so called because a Bodhisattva is free from the dirt of the immoral conduct as also of the other

25 पश्यतां बोधिमासन्नां सर्वार्थस्य च साधनम् ।

तीव्र उत्पद्यते मोदो मुदिता तेन कथ्यते ॥ XX-XXI.32, p. 514.

26 तस्य च चतुर्भ्यः समद्वयस्तुभ्यः प्रियवद्यता अतिरिक्तमा भवति । दशम्यः परिमिताभ्यः शीलपारमिताऽतिरिक्तमा भवति । DBhūSū, *Vimalā Bhūmi*, p. 18.

27 दौःशील्याभोगवैमल्याद्विमला भूमिरुच्यते । दौःशील्यमलस्यान्ययानमनसिकारमलस्य चातिक्रमाद्विमलयुच्यते । (Comm.) XX-XXI.33ab, p. 515.

yāna, i.e., Hinayāna. The *Mahāvastu* (I p. 15.) explains—a Bodhisattva in the second stage (*bhūmi*) develops an aversion to all forms of existence and that herein their dispositions are good, amiable, sweet, keen, bountiful, charming, profound, not losing control, imperturbable, extraordinary, lofty, noble, resolute, sincere, pure, steadfast, independent contend intent on the person and infinite. Their lapses in this stage are too related in this treatise and on account of these lapses the Bodhisattvas fail to reach the third stage.

3. *Prabhākari Bhūmi*:

The next stage of a Bodhisattva is called *prabhākari*, which means 'luminous'.²⁸ A Bodhisattva's thoughts now are pure, constant, unworldly, dispassionate, firm, ardent, noble and magnanimous. He realizes that all compounded things are impermanent, transient and momentary. They are the sources of manifold sufferings. He again thinks of misery, sins and folly of the living beings, and again resolves to help, teach and liberate them. He devotes himself day and night to the study of the Scriptures and the teachings of the Buddha in order to gain perfect knowledge. He practises the four meditations (*dhyānas*), the four attainments (*samāpattis*), the four sublime states (*brahmavihāras*) and the five kinds of higher knowledge (*abhiññās*). He is freed from the four *āsravas*. He also overcomes lust, malice and delusion. In this stage, he cultivates the perfection of patience (*kṣāntipāramitā*) to the greatest possible extent without neglecting the other perfections.

*Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*²⁹ explains that this *bhūmi* is so called because Bodhisattva diffuses the great light of the noble doctrine among the all beings. In the *Mahāvastu*³⁰ it is stated that a Bodhisattva in the third *bhūmi* pays special attention to *tyāga* (renunciation) and is prepared even to buy one verse containing a wise saying with the sacrifice of wives and children. He wants to make all beings happy and he does this not for his own well-being, not even for the sake of his own attainment of enlightenment.

4. *Arciṣmatī Bhūmi*:

The fourth *bhūmi* is called *arciṣmatī*. A Bodhisattva who is enkindled with the loftiest ambition of attaining Bodhisattvahood moves ahead and lands on the fourth stage that bears the designation of *arciṣmatī*, means 'radiant', 'brilliant' or 'effulgent'.³¹

28 DBhūSū, *Prabhākari Bhūmi*, p. 19.

29 महाधर्मावभासस्य करणाच्च प्रभाकरी । XX-XXI, 33cd, p. 515.

30 त्यागे प्रवर्तते चित्तं बोधिसत्त्वानामनुसो । X.(91.2ab), p. 106; cf. त्यागेन त्यागसंपन्ना बोधिसत्त्वाचन्द्रभानुरिवांशुभाम् । X.(79.1), p. 91.

31 *Arciṣmatī Bhūmi*, p. 24.

A Bodhisattva practises here the ten virtues³² with the mature knowledge. He also practises thirty-seven virtues³³ that pave the way for the attainment of enlightenment. They are liable to be set forth in the following order. i. the four applications of mindfulness (*smṛtyupasthāna*), ii. the four righteous exertions, iii. four constitutive elements of supernatural power (*rddhipādas*) iv. the five moral faculties (*indriyas*), v. the five corresponding powers (*bala*) bearing identical names vi. the seven constitutive members of true enlightenment (*saṃbodhyaṅga*), vii. and the noble eight-fold path (*āryāṣṭāṅgikamārga*). With the attainment of these qualities his mind becomes very soft and compassionate. His doubts are all removed and his mental dispositions become pure. He renounces the world in the doctrine of the Tathāgata. He practises the perfection of vigour (*virya-pāramitā*) to the greatest possible extent without neglecting the other perfections. As the forth *saṃgrahavastu* he specially cultivates the state of equality (*saṃānāritatā*).

According to the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*³⁴ this *bhūmi* is so called because the rays of the *bodhipakṣyadharmas* consume both the obstruction of suffering (*kleśavarāṇa*) and the obstruction of knowledge (*jñeyāvarāṇa*). The *Mahāvastu* (I pp. 101-102), explains in order to qualify themselves for attaining the fourth *bhūmi* the Bodhisattvas do not create schisms in the *saṅgha*, nor do they raise *stūpas* to the ground, nor harbour any evil thoughts against a Tathāgata.

5. *Sudurjayā Bhūmi*:

The fifth *bhūmi* is named *sudurjayā*, which means invincible, i.e. difficult to conquer. A Bodhisattva regards all the principles of Buddhahood, past, present and future with pure thought and equanimity. He thinks in the same way of conduct, meditation, doubt, speculation, knowledge of right way and the perfection of all beings. He comprehends the four noble truths. He becomes conversant and enlightened with different types of truth, viz., 1. *saṃvṛtti satya* (relative truth), 2. *paramārtha satya* (absolute truth), 3. *lakṣaṇa satya* (the truth of characteristics), 4. *vibhāga satya* (truth of division), 5. *nistīrṇa satya* (truth of origination), 6. *vastu satya* (truth of things and phenomena), 7. *prabhava satya* (truth of decay), 8. *kṣayānutpāda satya* (truth of non-production), 9. *mārgajñānāvatāra satya* (truth of initiation into the knowledge of the way),

32 अप्रत्युदावर्त्याशयः त्रिरत्नाभेद्यप्रसादनिष्ठागमनः, संस्कारोदयव्ययविभावनः, सभावानुपत्याशयता, लोकप्रवृत्तिनिवृत्त्याशयता, कर्मभवोपपत्त्याशयतः, संसारनिर्वाणाशयता, सत्यक्षेत्रकर्माशयता, पूर्वान्तापरान्तकर्माशयता, एवम् अभावक्षयः । DBhūSū, p. 24.

33 For details see *ibid*.

34 अविर्भूता यतो धर्मा बोधिपक्षाः प्रदाहकाः ।

अविर्भूतीति तद्योगात्ता भूमिर्द्वयदाहतः ॥ XX-XXI. 34, p. 515.

10. *tathāgatajñāna satya* (truth of the appearance of Buddha knowledge) and the like.³⁵ He acquires a knowledge of *skandha*, *dhātu*, *āyatana* etc., and knows different divisions of *dharma*. He feels great compassion for all the beings who undergo manifold suffering and resolves to save and liberate them. In this stage he sincerely acquires the qualities of mindfulness, fortitude, discretion, and skillfulness in the choice of the means for attaining his ends. He achieves mastery of the different branches of popular science and literature, like mathematics, medicine, art, drama, astrology and etc., which reveal the infallible ways that lead to the material welfare and happiness of all creature. He specially practises the perfection meditation (*dhyaṇa*) and cultivates all the elements of popularity (*saṃgrahavastus*) in the *bhūmi*.

According to the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*³⁶ this *bhūmi* is so called because a Bodhisattva performs the arduous task of ripening beings as also guarding his own mind. In the *Mahāvastu* (I. pp. 130-141) it is stated that a Bodhisattva now relises that all existence is consumed with the fire of lust, hatred and delusion, and that it is devoid of protection and happiness.

6. *Abhimukhī Bhūmi*:

A Bodhisattva enters into the next stages which is named *abhimukhī*, means 'face to face', 'being in front', or 'showing the face'. He specially cultivates the perfection of *prajñā* (wisdom) without lacking in respect for the other *pāramitās*. He treads on this realm by reflecting upon the ten varieties³⁷ of equality and sameness of nature of all things and phenomena. When a Bodhisattva looks upon all things in this way, he acquires the *kṣānti* called *ānulomakī*. But he is not spiritually prepared to reach the threshold of the receptivity that concerns itself with the fact that they (states of being) are bereft of production (*anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti*).³⁸ When he realizes them in their true light, he reflect on the origination and destruction of beings with increased concentration. His mind becomes saturated with love and compassion for them. He understands the profound truth that all worldly activities and behaviours are their existence to adherence to the heretical notion of the self as a real existent. And he finds access into the truth that the cessation of the latter entails the

35 A detail explanation of these terms has been furnished in the DBhūSū, p. 27.

36 सर्वानां परिपक्षश्च स्वचित्तस्य च रक्षणा ।

धीमहिर्जीयते दुःखं दुर्जया तेन कथ्यते ॥ XX-XXI. 35, p. 516.

37 यदुत सर्वधर्मानिमित्त...अलक्षण...अनुत्पाद...अजात...विविक्त...आदिविशुद्ध... निष्प्रपञ्च...अनाद्युद्भिर्निर्यह...मायास्वप्नप्रतिभासप्रतिश्रुकोदकचन्द्रप्रतिबिम्बनिर्माण...भावाभावाद्वयसमत्तया च । अभिर्देशमिधर्मे समतामिरवतरति । DBhūSū, p. 31.

38 *Ibid.*

cessation of the former.³⁹ He comprehends the formula of dependent origination (*pratītya-samutpāda*)⁴⁰ which, from the absolute standpoint, means non-origination at all times. He realizes that all sins and errors depend upon the mind. He is also freed from the conceptions of 'I' and 'other', 'doer' and 'feeler', 'existence' and 'non-existence'. He reverse all connections with the compounded elements and experiences many *samādhis*, which are related to the principle of emptiness. He is now perfectly pure and steady. His mind turns to knowledge of the Buddha resolutely.

According to the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*⁴¹ this *bhūmi* is so called because the Bodhisattva, practising the perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*), now stands face to face with both *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. The *Mahāvastu* (I. pp. 142-150) states that a Bodhisattva now feels and knows that this 'whirlpool' of the world is very terrible and yields little joy and satisfaction. He cannot rise to the seventh *bhūmi* and abide in it, if he desires to attain the trance of the cessation-of-perception and feeling, or listens complacently to his own praises as a great man and a self-restrained saint.

7. *Dūraṅgamā Bhūmi*:

The seventh stage of a Bodhisattva is called *dūraṅgamā*, means which 'goes far' or 'far-reaching'. In this stage he is provided with intelligence, knowledge and skill in devices conducive to the effectuation of ten beginnings of a new way.⁴² And it is intended for spiritual emancipation of the mass of creatures. His mind reaches an ideal state of rarefication due to the ceaseless practice of three mystic contemplations, viz., *śūnyatā*, *ānimitta* and *apraṇihita*. He acquires and arguments the quantum of merit and enlarges the frontiers of his knowledge as equipments for attaining the ultimate end of his life. He comprehends that all states of existence and the so-called things are devoid of ego and essence. He never forshakes the four *brahmanvāhāras*, viz., *maitrī*, *karuṇā*, *muditā*, and *upekṣā*. He holds fast to appropriate behaviour (*īryāpatha*).

The Bodhisattva ardently practises the ten *pāramitās*.⁴³ Besides, he practises the four elements of popularity (*saṃgrahavastus*) viz., *dāna*, *priyavachana*, *artha-*

39 ..यावद्यो लोकसमुदाचारोपपत्तयः सर्वाः ताः आस्माभिनिवेशतो भवन्ति ।

आस्माभिनिवेशदिगमतो न भवन्त्यलीकसमुदाचारोपपत्तयः . . DBūSū, p. 31.

40 ..एवं बोधिसत्त्वोऽनुलोमाकारं प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादं प्रत्यवेक्षते . . *ibid*.

41 आभिमुख्याद् द्वयस्येह संसारस्यापि निवृत्तेः ।

उक्ता ह्याभिमुखी भूमिः प्रज्ञापारमिताश्रयात् ॥ XX-XXI.36, p. 516.

42 स दशभिरुपायप्रज्ञाज्ञानाभिनिहृतैर्मार्गान्तरारम्भविशेषैराक्रमति । कतमैर्दशभिः ? यदुत शून्यतानिमित्ताप्रणिहितसमाधिसुपरिभावितमानसश्च भवति । DBūSū, p. 36.

43 *Dāna*, *śīla*, *kṣānti*, *virya*, *dhyāna*, *prajñā*, *upāyakauśala*, *praṇidhāna*, *bala* and *jñāna*.

kriyā (*caryā*), and *saṃānārtā*; the four resolutions (*adhiṣṭhāna*), viz. , *satya*, *tyāga*, *upaśama*, and *prajñā*; thirty-seven constituents of enlightenment; and three thresholds of spiritual liberation, viz. , *Śūnyatā*, *ānimitta* and *aparañhita*. He understands the thoughts of others and is pure in his thoughts, words and deeds. He transcends the lower wisdom of the Hīnayāna. He attains liberation, but does not realize personal *nirvāṇa*. But under no circumstances he goes astray from the path of righteousness. In this stage he specially cultivates the perfection of *upāyakaṇṭhala* without neglecting the others.⁴⁴

The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*⁴⁵ states that this *bhūmi* is so called because it leads to the end of the only path, i.e. to the discipline. According to the *Mahāvastu* (I. pp. 161-164) a Bodhisattva practises self-control and through the thought of great compassion advances from the seventh *bhūmi* to the eighth.

8. *Acalā Bhūmi*:

The Bodhisattva is approaching closer and closer to the ultimate goal of his life. He pursues his spiritual career and ascends the eighth stage. This stage is named *acalā*, 'immovable' or 'steadfast'. The Bodhisattva because of the attainment of this eighth stage of steadiness becomes free from the taste of delight of enjoyment there, attains the state of non-relishment and becomes free from longing towards body, speech and mind. He becomes the knower of all shorts of inner motion, even then he remains unperturbed and free from thought constructs and therefore, remains well-established in the ripening state of absorption.⁴⁶

So it signifies that in the career of a Bodhisattva, this stage is progressive spiritual realization is immovable and as such precludes the possibility of retrogression.⁴⁷ A candidate for Bodhisattvahood who succeeds to enter into it by discarding false discriminations becomes endowed with an exalted state of realization.⁴⁸ After the attainment of this stage he realizes the futility of all his efforts and all his previous seven-stages by relentless endeavour, but in this stage he had nothing to strive for and every act of his is spontaneous.

44 तस्य दशस्य पारमितास्य उपायकौशल्यपारमिता अतिरिक्तमा भवति न च परिशेषा न समुदागच्छति । DBhūSū, p. 41.

45 एकायनपथश्लेषाद्भूमिदूरंगमा मता । XX-XXI.37ab. p. 517.

46 अचला नाम अष्टमी भूमिः । बोधिसत्त्वोऽस्या अष्टम्या अचलाया बोधिसत्त्वभूमेः सह-प्रतिलम्भात्सर्वाभोग विगतोऽनाभोगधर्मेता प्राप्तः कायवाक्चित्तौस्तुक्यावगतः सर्वज्ञितमन्यनास्पन्दित विकल्पागतो विपाकधर्मेतावस्थितो भवति । . , DBhūSū *Acalā Bhūmi*, p. 42.

47 The DBhūSū has stated that the eighth *bhūmi* receives the following designations, viz. *avivartya*, *durāsada*, *kumārā*, *janma*, *pariṇiṣpanna*, *pariṇiṣhita*, *nirmāna* (*nirvāṇa*), *adhiṣṭhāna*, and *anābhoga*, for details see pp. 46-47.

48 अवतीर्णाऽनुत्पत्तिकधर्मास्तिप्राप्त इत्युच्यते । DBhūSū, p. 42.

Even after the attainment of this *bhūmi* called the immovable, the Bodhisattva is not entitled to enter *nirvāṇa*. Since this would bring about a termination of all activities directed towards redemption of all creatures. It is owing to this reason that the Bodhisattva refrains from entering into the state of *nirvāṇa* and elects to continue his worldly existence. But the activities of his body, voice and mind come to a complete cessation. The functioning of his previous vows takes place without encountering any hitch and his spiritual progress reaches the pattern of perfection.

In this stage, a Bodhisattva pays special attention to the perfection of aspiration (*praṇidhāna*), without lacking in respect of other *pāramitās*. He also achieves ten controls (*vaśitā*) and ten *balas* (DBhūSū, p. 46). He now possesses everything which makes a Buddha. He belongs to the member of Tathāgata family and is served by all the gods.

According to the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*⁴⁹ this stage is so called because a Bodhisattva can not be disturbed by the two ideas of cause and absence of cause. The *Mahāvastu* (I, pp. 161-164) states that a Bodhisattva is now perfectly pure and may be described as *avaivartaka* (not capable of turning back). He should be honoured in the same way as Buddha.

9. *Sādhumatī Bhūmi*:

The Bodhisattva reaches in the ninth stage called '*sādhumatī*', means 'stage of the good beings' or 'good thoughts'. He now knows all phenomena and principles truly and certainly whether they are mundane or supra-mundane, conceivable or inconceivable, compounded or uncompounded. He understands the minds and actions of all beings. He acquires a knowledge of the numerous obligations of the *Śrāvakas*, *Pratyeka-Buddhas* and *Bodhisattvas*. He becomes a great preacher and acquires the four-kinds of special knowledge, i.e. direct inner intuition (*pratisaṃvids*)⁵⁰ His desire transcends all limitations. What he desires is brought into actual realization.

The Bodhisattva pays special attention to the perfection of '*bala*' (strength), without disregarding other *pāramitās*. He also experiences thousands of meditations and is in possession of magical spells (*dhāraṇī*). He never goes out of the sight of Buddhas and is not lacking in any way in respect of his spiritual practises. According to the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*⁵¹ this *bhūmi* is so called because a Bodhisattva has good mind or thoughts on account of the

49 द्वयसंज्ञाविचलनादचला च निरुच्यते । XX-XXI. 37cd, p. 517.

50 स धर्मप्रतिसंविदा स्वलक्षणं धर्माणां प्रजानाति । अर्थप्रतिसंविदा विभक्तिं धर्माणां प्रजानाति । निरुक्तिप्रतिसंविदा असंभेददेशनं धर्माणां प्रजानाति । प्रतिभानप्रतिसंविदा अनुप्रवन्धानुपच्छेदतां धर्माणां प्रजानाति । DBhūSū, p. 51.

51 प्रतिसंविन्मतिताधुत्वाद्भूमिः साधुमती मता । XX-XXI. 38ab, p. 517.

intuitive knowledge (*pratisamvids*) that he acquires. But the *Mahāvastu* gives no details of this stage. It enumerates hundreds of names of the precious, powerful, renowned Āryan Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni Buddha acquired the root knowledge while he advanced from the first to the seventh stage. Then the text (*Mahāvastu* 1. pp. 164-167) again mentions hundreds of the host of Āryan Buddhas in the ninth stage.

10. *Dharmameghā Bhūmi*:

The Bodhisattva now reaches the end of his quest. His tenth and the final stage of progressive spiritual realization receives the significant designation of *dharmameghā* means 'cloud of Virtue' or 'cloud of the Doctrine'. He becomes entitled to realize innumerable varieties of contemplations including the ten unique types of them⁵². And at the end the contemplation (*samādhi*), '*sarvajñajñāna-viśeṣābhiṣeka*'⁵³ also becomes manifest to him. As soon as this realization takes place, he is beheld to be seated upon a luminous seat that bears the significant name '*mahāratnarājapadma*' and including other ten varieties of seat. It emits a myriad of radiant rays which illuminate all the ten quarters and workout innumerable miracles. The Buddhas appear before him. Rays also come forth from the foreheads of the assembled Buddhas and touch his head. He is thus consecrated (*abhiṣikta*) as a fully enlightened Buddha (*samyaksambuddha*). Thus this *bhūmi* is also known as *abhiṣekabhūmi*,⁵⁴ i.e. stage of holy consecration. Through his proficiency in mindfulness he bears in mind all the clouds of '*dharma*' showered on him by the Buddhas, and hence the designation *dharmameghā*.

Dharmameghā is also the name of a *samādhi* in the *Yoga Sūtra*. Patañjali has elucidated the essential nature of the spiritual contemplation called *dharmamegha* in the way indicated below:

प्रसङ्गयानेऽप्यकुसीदस्य सर्वथा विवेकख्यातेर्धर्ममेघः समाधिः । (IV.29)

It means the spiritual absorption known as the cloud of virtue comes to him who, being possessed of the intellectual revelation in all respects, is not professional even on the full payment.

52 The ten *samādhis* are: *vimala*, *dharmadhātu vibhaktipraveśa*, *bodhi-maṇḍalaṅkāravayūha*, *sarvākaraśmīkusuma*, *sāgaragarbha*, *sāgarasamrddhi*, *ākāśa-dhātuvipula*, *sarvadharmasvabhāvaavicaya*, *sarvasattvacittacaritānugata* and *pratyutpannasarvabuddhasammukhāvasthita*. DBhūSū, p. 55.

53 स तस्य सर्वज्ञानविशेषाभिषेकवतः समाधिः सह प्रतिलम्भात्तस्मिन् महारत्नाजपत्रे निषण्णः संदृश्यते । *ibid*.

54 सर्वाकारसर्वज्ञानाभिषेकभूमिप्राप्त इत्युच्यते । DBhūSū, p. 55.

Vidyāranya the author of *Pañcadaśī* (I.60) has also made the following significant observation

धर्ममेघमिमं प्राहुः समाधिं योगवित्तमाः ।
वर्षत्येव यतो धर्मावृतधाराः सहस्रशः ॥

This means the experts in Yoga call this *samādhi* 'a rain cloud of *dharma*' because it pours forth countless showers of the bliss of *dharma*.

The *Mahāvastu* (I, pp 167-186) states nothing particular about the tenth *bhūmi*. It mentions the birth of the Bodhisattvas in the *tuṣṭita* heaven and their longing for human existence. According to the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*⁵⁵ this *bhūmi* is so called because it is pervaded by the modes of concentration and magical spells, just like the sky covered with clouds. Hence, a Bodhisattva in this *bhūmi* is a personification of love and sympathy, which freely issue from the fount of his inner will. He pays special attention to the perfection of knowledge (*jñāna*) without neglecting other *pāramitās*.

While concluding the discussion on *bhūmi* as referred in the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*, it can be summarized as follows:

Pramuditā is so called because seeing *bodhi* and the salvation of beings nearby a great joy arises. *Vimalā* is so called because all tendency towards evil conduct is removed to confer purity. *Prabhākari* is named from the fact that it illumines the great truth. *Arciṣmati* derives its name by burning out duality and brightening the factors conducive to enlightenment. *Sudurjayā* is so described because it matures sentient beings and protects ones own mind and is hence difficult to conquer. *Abhimukhī* relies on *prajñāpāramitā* and confronts both *Samsāra* and *Nirvāṇa*. *Duraṅgamā* cleaves to the one path, the *Acalā* is unmoved by duality. *Sādhumatī* has the attainment of inward intuition. *Dharmameghā* has the sky of truth-order (*dharma*) pervaded with the cloud of non-duality.

In this way, a brief survey of the ten stages (*bhūmis*) with their special emphasis on their salient features have been presented. The account of the stages given above presents an idea of the gradation in the spiritual life of a Bodhisattva. It further gives an idea of the ideal life to be pursued in Mahāyāna. The transition from one state to the other takes place according to the progress made by a Bodhisattva in respect of certain virtues. However, after going through these stages, a Bodhisattva who is enkindled with the loftiest ambition of attaining Bodhisattvahood, finally succeeds to attain Enlightenment or *Nirvāṇa*. This is the main aim of the author to elaborate systematically the ten spiritual stages (*bhūmis*) of a Bodhisattva for the quest of perfection or realization of the Bodhisattvahood.

55 धर्ममेघा द्वयव्यासेर्धर्माकाशस्य मेघवत् ॥ XX-XXI, 38cd, p. 517.

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THE "SAMĀDHI" IN BUDDHIST TANTRA LITERATURE†

By

NARESH MAN BAJRACHARYA*

"*Samādhi*" is one of the important factors in all the schools of Buddhism. Every school emphasizes the importance of *samādhi*. In early Buddhism, *samādhi* is a state of mental preparation. The practice of *samādhi* is for realization of *prajñā*. In brief, it can be said that in early Buddhism, the term *samādhi* denotes the aspect of entire meditational practice with a definite system.

Har Dayal has remarked that the *dhyānas* of the early Buddhism are not regarded as very important in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature (Mahāyāna Sanskrit Literature) by the Mahāyānist authors, who are more interested in different *samādhis*. There, *samādhis* bear definite names and can produce certain results.¹ The Mahāyāna Sanskrit Literature gives a long list of *samādhis*. However, it does not deal with any definite process in relation to the attainment of the *samādhis*.

As mentioned above that *samādhi* is one of the important factors in all the schools of Buddhism, it is found that *samādhi* has been placed with exalted position in Vajrayāna school. Primary source of Vajrayāna school is the Buddhist Tantra literature. What the Buddhist Tantra literature says regarding *samādhi* is the main object of this paper.

To trace out the "*samādhi*" in Buddhist Tantra literature, I have consulted total 18 Buddhist Tantra literature.² Only seven of them are found to have dealt with *samādhi*.

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1. Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature* Delhi, 1978, p. 233.

2. (i) *Samvarodayatantra* (ST) (Manuscript), (ii) *Herukāvidhānatāntra* (HT) (Manuscript), (iii) *Abhidhānottarātāntra* (AT) (Manuscript), (iv) *Yogarājottamatāntra* (YT) (Manuscript), (v) *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇātāntra* (CT) (Manuscript), (vi) *Kalparājātāntra* (KT) (Manuscript), (vii) *Ḍākārṇavatāntra* (DT) (Manuscript), (viii) *Nairātmātāntra* (NT) (Manuscript), (ix) *Samputodbhavatāntra* (SUT) (Manuscript), (x) *Vajravārāhikālpātāntra* (VK) (Manuscript), (xi) *Yogāmvarātāntra* (YOT) (Manuscript), (xii) *Mahā-*

The *Ḍākārṇavatāntṛa* and the *Nairātmātāntṛa* assign the authenticity of *samādhi* to the Buddhas. They say *samādhi* was revealed by the most excellent *Munis* (Buddhas).³ Both the Tantras have stated that one, who practises the *samādhi*, will get the knowledge of the divine faculties of all the Buddhas.⁴ The *Nairātmātāntṛa* further says that if a *yoginī* wants to make the establishment of mind, she should make herself fall in all *samādhis* with quick motion⁵. It says that *samādhi* is the main and highest bliss for those people who wish emancipation.⁶ The *Samputodbhavātāntṛa* says that *samyaksamādhi* is that in which one sets himself in right manner for the liberation of all beings and his own Self.⁷

The *Nairātmātāntṛa*, which consists of 18 chapters, seems to have also used the term *samādhi* as a synonym of chapter. Title of each chapter is followed by the term *samādhi* in the place of *paṭala* or *parivarta* in the *Nairātmātāntṛa*.

The *Ḍākārṇavatāntṛa* and the *Nairātmātāntṛa* state two different views on how *samādhi* can be obtained. The *Ḍākārṇavatāntṛa* says *samādhi* can be obtained from the purification of sense faculties.⁸ But the *Nairātmātāntṛa* has stated that the attainment of *samādhi* is possible only after the purification of all these, namely: *devatā-viśuddhi*, *dvāsaptaśatī akṣarāditāntṛa-viśuddhi*, *dvibhujasahakḥādi ca ekamukha śuddhi*, *mūlamantrādi-viśuddhi*, *maṇḍala-śuddhi* and *śmaśāna-śuddhi* alongwith *caḥśurādi-viśuddhi*.⁹ It further forcefully gives instruction to dwell in *samādhi* with complete purification.¹⁰

māyātāntṛa (MT) (Published), (xiii) *Kṛṣṇayāmārītāntṛa* (KYT) (Published), (xiv) *Kālacakrātāntṛa* (KCT) (Published), (xv) *Jñānodayātāntṛa* (JT) (Published), (xvi) *Guhyasamājātāntṛa* (GT) (Published), (xvii) *Hevajrātāntṛa* (HET) (Published), (xviii) *Mahāvairocana-Sūtra* (MS) (Published).

The MS which was translated into Chinese in 725 A.D. seems to be one of the earlier and fundamental text of Mantrayāna. However it is entitled as *Sūtra* but the characteristic of the text is similar to Tantra. I, therefore, prefer the text as Tantra.

3. तदा समाधिमात्रं तु कथितो मुनिपुंगवैः । DT, C. 1 & NT, C.1.
4. समाधि गम्यते ज्ञानं बुद्धानां दिव्यमिन्द्रियं । DT, C. 1 & NT, C.1.
5. यदि पुनर्योगिनीचित्तं स्थितिकर्तुमिच्छेत्सर्वसमाधिमाशु निष्पातये । तदा समासतः समाधियं विभाष्य । NT, C. 4
6. समाधि मोक्षाकांछनामिह मुख्यं महासुखं । NT, C. 4
7. यस्मिन्समाधौ स्थितः सर्वसत्त्वविप्रमोक्षाय सम्यक् स्थितत्वं निर्वाणमिति अयमुच्यते सम्यक्समाधिः । SUT, C 2
8. समाधिर्नाम तत्रस्तु लभ्यते इन्द्रियशोधनात् । DT, C. 13
9. सर्वशुद्धिविज्ञानीयात् समाधिं तत्र सम्भवं चक्षुरादिविशुद्धि, देवताविशुद्धि, द्वाससति अक्षरादितन्त्रविशुद्धि, द्विभुजावहखादि च एकमुखा शुद्धि, मूलमन्त्रादिविशुद्धि, मण्डलशुद्धि, इमज्ज्ञान-शुद्धि । NT, C. 6.
10. विज्ञाहारे समाधिं च शुद्धिता वा विशुद्धिता । NT, C. 6.

As far as types or phases of *samādhi* are concerned, the *Vajravārāhīkalpa* and the *Ḍākārṇavatāntara* indicate three types of *samādhis*.¹¹ However the texts do not reveal what are the three.

The *Guhyasamājatantra* has enumerated total 106 names of *samādhi*. It has quoted 70 names of them with a very short description i.e. "the Tathāgata set in such and such *samādhi*".¹² Likewise, the text has listed total 32 names of *samādhis* with a short method in the thirteenth chapter.¹³ But the third chapter of the text, entitled as the *vajravṛyūhanāma-samādhi-paṭala* deals with *vajravṛyūhanāma-samādhi* to some extent. The chapter states that the Tathāgata, sitting in *sarvatathāgata-pharaṇavyūha-samādhi* uttered the *vajravṛyūha-samādhi*. The Tathāgata, chanting a mantra "om śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātma'ham", directed the Bodhisattvas to make manifestations of *Buddhamāṇḍala* in the ether. The Tathāgata again set himself in *dharma-dhātusvabhāva-samādhi* and chanted a mantra "om dharmadhātusvabhāvātma'ham".

Then, the Tathāgata directed the Bodhisattvas to imagine a gem of five colours with the size of a mustard at the tip of their nose. The Tathāgata directed them to visualize an expanded form of the mustard at the tip of their noses. After this, the Tathāgata directed them to make the manifestation of *vajramāṇḍala*, *cakramāṇḍala*, *padmamaṇḍala*, *ratnamaṇḍala* in the ether. Finally, these transformed into *yogamaṇḍala* in the ether. Thus the *vajravṛyūha-samādhi* ends.

Likewise, twentieth chapter of the *Vajravārāhīkalpa* consists of several sub-chapters. The title of the first sub-chapter of the twentieth chapter is *samyak-samādhilakṣaṇa* (The characteristic of Right-meditation). The title does not correspond with the characteristic of the *samyak-samādhi* of eight-fold path. The title deals with a different process of *samādhi* for practice.

11 क्रमः श्री विशाखित्वा समाधि योगवान् । VK, C. 16 & DT, C. 9.

12 अथ भगवान् महाविरोचनस्तथागतः सर्वतथागतमहारागवज्रं नाम समाधिं समापन्नः तं सर्वतथागतव्यूहं स्वकायवाक्चित्तवज्रेषु प्रवेशयामास । Swami Dwarikadasa Shastri, GT, (Varanasi, 1984), C. 1, p. 2.

13 खवज्रमध्यगं चिन्तेदुद्धमण्डलवज्रिणम् ।

यमान्तके महाचक्रे खवज्राख्यं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ ५३ ॥

बुद्धांश्च व्यध्वसम्भूतान् प्रविष्टास्त्रिकायमण्डले ।

पुनस्स्फारयेद्बुद्धान् यमान्तकाकारसन्निभान् ॥ ५४ ॥

मस्त्राश्च व्यध्वसम्भूतान् रिपूणां दुष्टचेतसाम् ।

घातितान् भावयेत् क्रुद्ध इदं वज्राज्ञामण्डलम् ॥ ५५ ॥

॥ सर्वममनसमवयमान्तकस्यान्य त्रिकायाज्ञावज्रो नाम समाधिः ॥ *Ibid.*, C. 13, p. 52.

Firstly, a few sites are recommended for the practice of *samādhi*. The *samādhi* starts with physical purification. Then, *yogī* is directed to meditate on the technical or philosophical meaning of the term *śrīheruka*, and to imagine the *śrīheruka*, in the ether. After this, the worship with nectar, the confession of sin etc., compassion and *śūnyatā* should be practised. Thereafter, the manifestation of *yogasudhā* and finally the manifestation of a big *maṇḍala* of *śrīheruka* and meditation on that very *maṇḍala* with a kind of song are prescribed in order for the practice of *samādhi*. This is the process of *samādhi* practice, given under the sub-title *samyaksamādhilakṣaṇa*.

Eighteenth chapter of the *Guhyasamājatantra* has dealt with the meaning, place and result of *samādhi* in yoga system. It clearly states that four types of means are in *yoga-tantra* tradition, namely: *sevā*, *upasāadhanā*, *sāadhanā* and *mahāsāadhanā*.¹⁴ The *sevā* is classified into two categories namely: *sān ānya-sevā* and *uttama sevā*. The former is performed through the way of *vajracatuṣka* while the later one through *jñānāmṛta*.¹⁵ The *vajracatuṣka* consists of four phases namely: *śūnyatābodhi*, *bījasamgraha*, *bimbaniṣpatti* and *nyāsa*.¹⁶ The *jñānāmṛta* is a system of yoga which consists of six phases namely: *pratyāhāra*, *dhyanā*, *prāṇāyāma*, *dhāraṇā*, *anusmṛti* and *samādhi* respectively.¹⁷ This is the reason why the *yoga* is known as *śaḍāṅga-yoga*. *Samādhi* is the sixth or final phase of the *yoga* system. The *Ḍākārṇavatāntara* and the *Kālacakratāntara* have also stated the same thing.¹⁸ According to the *Guhyasamājatantra*, *samādhi* means the immediate origin of knowledge which manifests after accomplishment of *anusmṛti* the fifth

14 चतुर्विधमुपायन्तु बोधिवज्रेण वर्णितम् ।

योगतन्त्रेषु सर्वेषु शस्यते योगिना सदा ॥ १३४ ॥

सेवाविधानं प्रथमं द्वितीयमुपसाधनम् ।

साधनं तु तृतीयं वै महासाधनं चतुर्थकम् ॥ १३५ ॥ *Ibid* C. 18, p. 131.

15 सामान्योत्तमभेदेन सेवा तु द्विविधा भवेत् ।

वज्रचतुष्केण सामान्यमुत्तमं ज्ञानामृतेन च ॥ १३६ ॥ *Ibid*.

16 प्रथमं शून्यताबोधिं द्वितीयं बीजसंहृतम् ।

यं बिम्बनिष्पत्तिश्चतुर्थं न्यासमक्षरम् ॥ १३७ ॥

एभिर्वज्रचतुष्केण सेवासामान्यसाधनम् । *Ibid*

17 उत्तमे ज्ञानामृते चैव कार्यं योगषडङ्गतः ॥ १३८ ॥

प्रत्याहारस्तथा ध्यानं प्राणायामोऽथ धारणं ।

अनुस्मृतिः समाधिश्च षडङ्गो योग उच्यते ॥ १३९ ॥ *Ibid*.

18 प्रत्याहारस्तथा ध्यानं प्राणायामं तु धारणं ॥

अनुस्मृतिः समाधिश्च षडङ्गो योगलक्षणं ॥ DT, C. 8

प्रत्याहारादिषडङ्गिः सुकनककमले कायावाक्चित्तयोगः । Biswanath Banerjee, KCT, (Calcutta. 19०5).

प्रत्याहार ध्यान प्राणायाम धारणा अनुस्मृति श्री समाधि । *Ibid.*, p. 168.

stage of the yoga-system.¹⁹ After sovereignty over *anusaṃṛti*, the *yogī* becomes unveiled one.²⁰ According to the *Kālacakratāntra*, in the context of the *śaḍaṅgayoga*, *samādhi* is the reflection of the knowledge which emerges from the everlasting joy from the union of *prajñā* and *upāya*.²¹ The symbol of *samādhi* is the holding of a disc.²² After practising *samādhi*, *yogī* obtains the body of knowledge.²³

The *Mahāvairocanasūtra*, which is considered as one of the earlier Mantrayāna texts deals with *samādhi* categorically. According to this text, the *samādhi* in brief means to keep the mind in the objective world and, in detail, it has varieties. The mind is realized by *samādhi*. It is not obtained from the outside world. Such domain is in the *dhyāna* of all Tathāgatas. It is called the *mahā-śūnyatā* that fulfills complete omniscience.²⁴

For Bodhisattva and Tathāgata, the source of *samādhi* is the great compassion (*Mahākaruṇā*).²⁵

The *Mahāvairocanasūtra* categorised *samādhi* mainly into five with all its aspects, describing the way of the *samādhi* performing according to the mental standard. The five types of *samādhi* are as follows:

(i) *The samādhi of the world:*

People in the world know that the cause and effect and the deed are produced or are annihilated and they depend on outer Ātman (*Brahma* or *Maheśvara*), and that the *samādhi* of vacancy²⁶ is produced. This is called the *samādhi* of the world.²⁷

(ii) *The way of the samādhi of a Śrāvaka:*

Many Śrāvakas dwell in the position of relative cause and know birth and death and remove the two extremities. They have the wisdom of observance and they can get the cause of practising meditation in reverse order. (It seems here that this reverse order means the understanding of the law of dependent origination in reverse order). This is called the way of the *samādhi* of a Śrāvaka.²⁸

19 झटिति ज्ञाननिष्पत्तिः समाधिरिति संज्ञितिः । Shastri, *op.cit.*, C. 18, p. 133.

20 समाधिवसिनामात्रे निरावरणवान्भवेत् । *Ibid*

21 प्रज्ञोपायाध्मेकेनाक्षरसुखवशात् ज्ञानविम्वे समाधिः । Banerjee, *op.cit.*, C. 4, p. 170.

22 डोम्ब्या चानुस्मृतिः स्यादपि कमलधरः श्रीसमाधिश्च चक्री । *Ibid.*, p. 169

23 तस्मात् शुद्धः समाधौ कतिपयदिवसैः सिद्ध्यते ज्ञानदेहः । *Ibid.*, p. 170.

24 Chikyo Yamamoto, MS, pp. 25-26.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

26 The term vacancy is translated from Chinese word which seems to have translated from the *śūnyatā*.

27 Yamamoto, *op.cit.*, p. 28.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 28.

(iii) *The way of the samādhi of Pratyekabuddha:*

A Pratyekabuddha observes the cause and effect, and dwells in the *dharma* of non-speaking. He does not change the vow of non speaking and dwells in the *samādhi* that realizes the utter stoppage of speech.²⁹

(iv) *The way of the samādhi of Bodhisattva:*

The way of *samādhi* of the Bodhisattva who is free in the eighth *bhūmi* (position) does not get all the *dharma*s, but is away from the birth of existence and knows that all are illusive. Therefore, he (Bodhisattva) is called *avalokiteśvara* by the world.³⁰

(v) *The way of samādhi of Mantrayāna:*

The way of the *samādhi* of Mantrayāna fulfills all wishes. It is the strange result of all Tathāgatas. It accomplishes all the good wishes and it is the decisive meaning of the Mantra. It transcends the three worlds and is immaculate like space.³¹

After this, two chapters, 28th and 29th of the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* deal with the *samādhi* of the Main Sacred One and Formless *samādhi* respectively as follows:

The twenty-eighth chapter of the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* is entitled as "Explanation of the *samādhi* of the Main Sacred One". It denotes two kinds of sacred ones. They are the pure one and the non-pure one. If the pure body is realised, then it is far from form. Non-pure and thoughtful body has many colours. The two kinds of sacred ones accomplish two kinds of things. Because it has thought, it accomplishes the *siddhi* that has form. Because it has non-thought it gives birth to formless *siddhi*. Finally, the chapter comes to the end saying that all kinds should dwell in non-thought.³²

The twenty-ninth chapter of the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* is entitled as "Explanation of the Formless (*Nirākṣaṇa*) *samādhi*" which was prescribed for the Bodhisattva who performs the deed of the Bodhisattva in the way of Mantrayāna. In this *samādhi*, Bodhisattva realized the vacancy of nature. The mind has no essential nature, it is far from thought. So, Bodhisattva thinks of the vacancy of nature. The mind cannot be obtained in the early, middle and late times. The essential nature is away from the phases because it surpasses the three times. An ordinary man discriminates that there is thought. In fact, it should be thought as untrue and uniform. But the Bodhisattva realizes the Formless *samādhi*.³³

29 *Ibid.*

30 *Ibid.*

31 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

32 *Ibid.*, C. 28, p. 170.

33 *Ibid.*, C. 29, p. 171.

Apart from the description of *samādhi*, the text enumerates the names of the following *samādhis*:

- The *samādhi*, devoid of faults
- The *samādhi* that has no affliction and is serene,
- The *samādhi* of *dharmadhātugarbha*,
- The *amṛta-samādhi*.
- The *tathāgata-samaya-alamkāra-akośa-samādhi*.
- The *indra-samādhi*.

From above sources, the "*samādhi*" in Buddhist Tantra literature can be summarised as follows: In general, *samādhi* is the way of establishment of mind, proper practice and highest bliss for those who devote themselves to the liberation of all beings and his own Self. The *samādhi* is the realization of *śūnyatā* and *dharmadhātu*. The *samādhi* is a product of the divine faculties of all the Buddhas. The *samādhi* is, therefore, the understanding of divine faculties of all the Buddhas.

As in early Buddhism, *śīla* is the background for *samādhi*, the Buddhist Tantra literature admits some more aspects such as *devatāviśuddhi*, *śmaśāna-viśuddhi*, etc. along with the purification of sense faculties.

Regarding the *samādhi* in Buddhist Tantra literature, it can be said that the *yoga* system of *yogatantra* tradition, which consists of six phases, is the most significant. In *yoga*-system, the *samādhi*, which is placed as sixth or final phase, leads to the realization of immediate origin of knowledge that emerged from the union of *prajñā* and *upāya*. Ultimately, the *samādhi* leads to the mental state which is free from all kinds of discrimination and veils such as obscuration of defilements and knowledge.

Besides that, it can be said that specific process of *samādhi* with the view of practice is not clear in Buddhist Tantra literature. However, few short methods are prescribed in the *Guhyasamājatantra* and in the *Vajravārāhika'pa*. But, it can be said that in all 21 Buddhist Tantric manuscripts, which deal solely with the Vajrayāna *samādhis* with the view of practice, have been procured. The procured manuscripts have already been introduced to the scholarly world by way of presentation of a research paper "Introducing the Samādhi Literature" in the "International Buddhist Conference 1995" in Bodhagaya.

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NYĀYABINDU-PŪRVAPAKṢA-SAMKṢIPTI OF KAMALAŚĪLA*

By

DR. SANJIT KUMAR SADHUKHAN†

The *Nyāyabindu-pūrvapakṣa-samkṣipti* is a small text on Buddhist logic written by Kamalaśīla (700-750 A.D., according to Nakamura; 740-795 A.D., according to Frauwallner)¹ who is well-known through his magnificent commentary *Pañjikā* on Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasaṃgraha*. We know that the *Pañjikā* is a commentary of extraordinary importance which exposed a large part of the unknown history of the philosophical conflict in ancient India. The *Nyāyabindu-pūrvapakṣa-samkṣipti* or *Samkṣipti*, hereinafter used for easy communication is also an important text due to a number of causes which will be clarified in the present article. Unfortunately, the *Samkṣipti* appears to be lost in original. But there exists a Tibetan translation of the text in the great collection Tanjur and it covers 10 folios extending from 113a1 to 122b5 of the Zhe volume of its Peking edition. The translation was jointly prepared by the Indian pundit Viśuddhasiṃha and the Tibetan interpreter Dge-slon Dpal-rtsegs rakṣita of Zhuchen, in the 9th Century A.D.²

The *Nyāyabindu-pūrvapakṣa-samkṣipti*, as the very title of the work indicates, contains only the main *prima facie* arguments against the views of the *Nyāyabindu*, a text on Buddhist logic by the great Dharmakīrti (600-660 A.D., according to Frauwallner).³ In each case of the main *sūtras*, the *pūrvapakṣa* views along with their possible identification have been noted first and then the *sūtra* of the *Nyāyabindu* refuting those is mentioned. In this connection what I want to point out is that it is a general characteristic of treating the subject-matter in the Indian *śāstras* that the final *sūtras* or views are given after recording the contradictory *sūtras* or views if thought to be important in those connections. This tradition is very ancient and it has been considered by the Indian *Śāstrakāras* to be most fruitful to understand the subject-matter with the reference to the historical background. The *Samkṣipti* is a brilliant example of that very Indian tradition.

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* Read in the 38th Session of the AIOC, Jadavpur,

† C/o Prof. Anantlal Thakur, 59/1, Ram Mohan Sarani, Malir Bagan, Baijlyabati, Hooghly-712 222.

1 *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*, Vol. I, p. 129

2 Article : A short History of Buddhist logic in Tibet, Bulletin of Tibetology, Gangtok, Sikkim p. 12.

3 *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*, Vol. I, p. 68

The *Nyāyabindu* is an ideal manual on Buddhist logic. On it, we know that Vinītadeva (700 A.D.),⁴ Śāntabhadra (700 A.D.),⁵ Dharmottara (1st quarter of the 8th Cen. A.D.),⁶ Mallavādin (700-750 A.D.),⁷ and Durvekamiśra (10-11th Cen. A.D.)⁸ wrote commentaries and sub-commentaries. They had noted down some *pūrvapakṣa* views in their respective commentaries. But the *Samkṣipti* supplies some curious *pūrvapakṣas* which are very important in the history of Indian Philosophy. However, I have to mention that, the *Ṭippaṇa* by Mallavādin, if I am right to give you the information is yet to be published or properly studied. Śāntabhadra's commentary is lost except the existence of a few fragmentary portions.⁹ One *Tātparyanibandhana-ṭippaṇa*¹⁰ by an anonymous commentator is also to be thoroughly studied in this connection. Anyway, in the *Nyāyabindu-ṭikā* of Vinītadeva (reconstructed text)¹¹ we find more or less 25 views of the different *pūrvapakṣins* that have been recorded, whereas Dharmottara noted a very few opponent philosophers in his *Nyāyabinduṭikā*. However, the references in the *Dharmottarapradīpa* of Durvekamiśra are comparatively greater in number. The *Samkṣipti* records 77 diverse views of different *pūrvapakṣins*. There are 14 views of the Naiyāyikas, 10 of the Vaiśeṣikas, 11 of the Sāṃkhyas, 13 of the Mīmāṃsakas, 4 of the Digambaras, 3 of the grammarians, 2 of the Bārhaspatyas, 1 of Caraka, 1 of Aviddhakarṇa, 1 of Pātrasvāmin, 2 of Vasubandhu, 1 of the Vātsīputrīyas, 1 of the Vaibhāsikas, 4 of the rival Buddhists and lastly 9 of the unidentified opponent philosophers.¹² Among the above views, some are very common in our *śāstras*, such as one *pramāṇa* of the Bārhaspatyas, three *pramāṇas* of the Sāṃkhyas, four *pramāṇas* and five

4 *Nyāyabinduṭikā* Introduction, p. 10

5 *Ibid.* Introduction, p. 10

6 *Ibid.* Introduction, p. 11

7 *Ibid.* Introduction, p. 11

8 *Ibid.* Introduction, p. 12

9 Vide *Nyāyabinduṭikā ṭippaṇa*, Ed. by T. H. Steherbatrky. First Indian Edition, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1992.

Dharmottarapradīpa, Ed. by Pandit Dalsukhbhai Malvania. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna 1955.

10 One palm leaf manuscript of it has been discovered by Muni Śrī Punyavijaya. Vide *Dharmottarapradīpa* Prastāvanā, p. 56

11 *Nyāyabinduṭikā* of Vinītadeva. Reconstructed from Tibetan and edited by Dr. Mrinal Kanti Ganguli Indian Studies, Calcutta, 1971.

12 Naiyāyikas: 113a5, 113a7-8, 113b8-114a1, 116b6, 117a1, 117b2, 118b4, 119a8, 120b2, 111a5, 121a7, 121b2 (Pailuka), 121b4, 122a4,

Vaiśeṣikas: 113b2, 116a2, 117a2, 119a2, 119b5, 120b5, 121a1, 121b3 (Paithara), 121b5, 11b8,

inference-components of the Naiyāyikas, the inference with the help of seven specific varieties of relation of the Sāṃkhyas, and so on.

The most important points regarding the *Samkṣipti* which I want to discuss now are the following:

(1) The *Samkṣipti* stands as a source of identification of a definition of the Subject (*pakṣa*) quoted in the *Nyāyavārttika* of Uddyotakara (under NS I. i. 33). The definition runs as “*vicāraṇāyām iṣṭaḥ arthaḥ pakṣaḥ*,” i.e. the Subject is that which is desired in the course of an enquiry. Uddyotakara, according to his own nature of not mentioning the source except one or two rare exceptions, did not say anything about whose definition it was. Vācaspatimiśra who commented upon the *Nyāyavārttika* and identified a number of *pūrvapakṣas* there, also remained silent in this regard. The *Samkṣipti* (fol. 119 b1) clearly says that the definition “*rnam par dpyad par ‘dod pa’i don phyogs yin*” which can very easily be converted to the above-mentioned definition, *vicāraṇāyām* etc. is of Slob-dpon dbyig-gñen i.e. Ācārya Vasubandhu.

(2) Uddyotakara in his *Nyāyavārttika* under the *Nyāyasūtra* I. i.5, quotes a definition of the Inference, *nāntariyakārthadarśanaṃ tadvido ‘numānam*, i.e. The inference is the perception of the thing which is invariably concomitant, for one who knows the said concomitance. Uddyotakara does not mention whose definition it is. Vācaspati also does not identify the opponent here. It is found in the *Samkṣipti* (fol. 115 b7) that the definition is of Ācārya Vasubandhu (Siob-dpon dbyig-gñen).

Sāṃkhyas : 113a4, 15b6 (Vārṣaganya), 116a4-5, 116b5, 117a3 (Vindhya-vāsin), 117a7, 119b, 120a1, 120a4, 120a6, 121a4,

Mīmāṃsakas/Jaiminīyas : 113a5, 113a8, 113b6, 114a3, 116a2, 117a4, 117b6, 117b7, 120a5, 121a5 (Mīmāṃsaka), 121a6 (Jaiminīya), 121b7, 122a3,

Digambaras : 119b1, 121a4, 122a1, 122a2-3,

Grammarians : 115a6, 117a6, 120a7,

Bārhaspatyas : 113a3, 120b1,

Caraka : 113a6

Aviddhakarṇa : 113b3,

Pātrasvāmin : 115a,

Vasubandhu : 115b7, 119b1

Vātsīputrīyas : 117a5

Vaibhāṣikas : 113b5

Svayūthyas (Rival Buddhists) : 118b5, 119a5, 121a6, 121a8,

Kecit or *anye* or *apara* or *ye* : 113b1, 113b2, 113b3 (Vārṣaganya), 115b5, 116a7, 118b6, 118b6 (tārikāḥ), 119a7, 120b7,

(3) The *Samkṣipti* (fol. 113 b3-5) records a view of Aviddhakarṇa (Rna-ma-phug) according to which Aviddhakarṇa does not admit the mental perception as a *pratyakṣapramāṇa* i.e. a valid source of perceptual knowledge. He argues,—“The object previously perceived (through outer sense-organs) is not different at the time of mental perception and as it grasps the same object which has already been grasped before, it cannot be a *pramāṇa*. If the object of the mental perception is different from the object of the previous perception by the sense-organs like eyes etc., the object of the mental perception would be admitted as one which is present without any prior dependence and it would also be admitted that the mental perception could grasp everything without any prior operation of the external sense-organs. But the blind cannot have any object of perception.

The *pūrvapakṣa* view mentioned just now, regarding the invalidity of the mental perception to be a *pramāṇa*, has been very precisely noted in the Dharmottara's commentary (vide *Dharmottara-pradīpa*, p. 61), but there is no identification of the *pūrvapakṣin*. Durvekamiśra again explains the commentary but he also does not pronounce a word about whose view it is. Kamalaśīla does not mention this particular view of Aviddhakarṇa in his *Pañjikā* though the former records a number of views of the latter therein.

Now I prefer to discuss a little more in this connection. Mahendra Kumar cited Jain authority for Aviddhakarṇa's view that it is impossible to define the *liṅga* (–*hetu*) and that, since a valid instrument must give us information we do not already have, inference, which depends on memory, is not a valid instrument. And depending on this sceptical attitude towards the *hetu*, he assumed the existence of a second Aviddhakarṇa different from the commentator of the *Nyāyabhāṣya* because it appeared to him very unlikely that Aviddhakarṇa being a commentator of the *Nyāyabhāṣya* could actually forward such a view. So according to Mahendra Kumar, there were two Aviddhakarṇas, one the Naiyāyika who flourished between 620 and 700, the other a Cārvāka who lived in the 8th Century, (Vide *Encyclopaedia of the Indian Philosophies* (II), pp. 338-40).

The Scholars like A. L. Thakur, Umesh Misra and G.R.F. Oberhammer rejected the existence of two Aviddhakarṇas. It is important to note that their view is supported by the *Samkṣipti*. To clarify the matter, the fundamental principle of the argument of Aviddhakarṇa to reject the mental perception, in the *Samkṣipti* is similar to that of the argument of Aviddhakarṇa, in the case of the inference, in Jain sources. Moreover, there is no possibility of being two Aviddhakarṇas in the *Pañjikā* and the *Samkṣipti* both by the same writer Kamalaśīla. Therefore it can safely be said that Aviddhakarṇa in the Jain sources is not different from that in the Buddhist sources. Now as the *Samkṣipti* mentions Aviddhakarṇa as a *pūrvapakṣin* of Dharmakīrti (600-660

A.D.), the possibility of existence of a second Aviddhakarṇa who is supposed to be a Cārvāka of the 8th Century disappears. Aviddhakarṇa is one, he is the writer of *Tattvaṭīkā*, a commentary on the *Nyāyabhāṣya* of Vātsyāyana and he is pre-Dharmakīrti. Moreover, we know from other sources that this Aviddhakarṇa supported the existence of God by two arguments. Anyway, there is a contention that Aviddhakarṇa may be earlier than Uddyotakara, because in several examinations Śāntarakṣita quotes his opinions and generally places his opinions first before Uddyotakara. But in this regard we have to investigate further to get the definite conclusion.

(4) From the *Samkṣipti* (fol. 115 a6) we come to know that Pātrasvāmin (Snod-yi-rje) was the *pūrvapakṣin* of Dharmakīrti. E. Krishnamacharya in his introduction to the *Tattvasaṃgraha* has clearly shown that the famous Jaina logician Pātrakeśarīsvāmin alias Vidyānanda (flourished in the beginning of the Ninth century A.D.) cannot be identical with this Pātrasvāmin simply due to difference of time. But to determine his time Krishnamacharya had to depend on the only source *Tattvasaṃgraha*, at his time and suggested the latest date of Pātrasvāmin to be cir. 700 A.D. But the *Samkṣipti* helps us to be more specific to determine his date to be before 7th Cen. A.D. or at best the first quarter of the 7th Century.

(5) Now, I come to the next important point.

In the *Tātparyavṛttikā* on the *Nyāyasūtra* I, ii. 9., Vācaspati says, *yat punaḥ bhadantena kālātītasya vyākḥānam kṛtam*, etc. What is the explanation given by the Buddhist? The explanation of the *Kālātīta hetvābhāsa* is that if there is the violation of the sequence of mentioning the probans, then the so-called probans is a pseudo-probans. But from the text of the *Samkṣipti* (fol. 120 b8) it is found that the above mentioned explanation is of the Naiyāyikas. Now who is right? Kamalāsīla or Vācaspati? It is important to note that though Vātsyāyana and Uddyotakara clearly refuted the explanation Kamalāsīla being posterior to them yet recorded the same, as of the Naiyāyikas. Further, we see in the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* of Bhāsarvajña (p. 310) that the *Kālātīta hetvābhāsa* occurs when the sequence of inference-components is violated; i.e. The time to mention the probans is after *pakṣa*. If the probans is not placed at the proper time it is *Kālātīta*.¹³ It is very doubtful whether Bhāsarvajña accepted a Buddhist explanation for his text.

So in this situation, I am inclined to suggest that the interpretation condemned by the Naiyāyikas was primarily given by a section of the Naiyāyikas who were pre-Vātsyāyana as we find the explanation being refuted in

13. *nirdiṣṭapakṣopanyāsānantarāṃ hetūpanyāsakālas tadatyayena apadiṣṭaḥ kalam atītaḥ kālātītaḥ Nyāyabhūṣaṇam*, p. 310.

Vātsyāyana's Bhāṣya also. Later this explanation was generally current among the Buddhists and Vācaspati simply caught them as having the responsibility of giving such an explanation.

At the conclusion, I may mention that there are many more *pūrvapakṣas* in the *Samkṣipti* the study of which in the context of the *Nyāyabindu* must enrich the understanding of the *sūtras* therein i.e. the study of the *Nyāyabindu* will be more critical with the historical background. And in this way, the *Nyāyabindu-pūrvapakṣa-samkṣipti* will be properly recognised by the Scholars, I think.

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PROBLEMS IN CRITICALLY EDITING PURĀṆA-TEXTS*

By

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Introductory:

The Critical Edition is an attempt to restore the text as far as possible to its original form. But this task is quite problematic in case of the Epics and Purāṇa-texts, because in case of other texts, (1) we may get an authograph (the author's own) copy or manuscript or manuscripts, not much separated from the original or having some relationship, though some what remote, with the original, but the case of Epics and Purāṇa-texts is quite different. We can never think of getting their autographs or the immediate copies. There is unbridgable, long time-gap of about more than one thousand years between the original text and the available mss. of the Purāṇa-texts. Hence restoring them to their original form is almost an impossible task. (2) Secondly, unlike other texts, these texts have been orally transmitted from one generation to another by rhapsodists, who narrated the events, with additions, omissions, alterations & interpolations of time-honoured matter, making the material more interesting & appealing to the masses. Thus, these are a kind of floating mass of popular literature otherwise known also as fluid Texts or the transmitted texts, that incorporated the regional versions also. Hence arriving at their original form is quite difficult. (3) Thirdly, the Purāṇa-texts have undergone several revisions or redactions at the hands of the redactors and rhapsodists. For example we get a detailed reference to the successive chain or line of narrators from whom Parāśara has traditionally received the present text of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (6.8.43-50).

From this, it is evident that the text of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* has been continuously handed down through oral tradition of narrators. Hence, to make a Surmise about the text, that was narrated by the first narrator is quite a difficult task. (4) By the minute study of the Purāṇa-texts only, the scholars have found that there are certain interpolations in them. For example, the *Māyāmoha* episode (VP. 3.17 & 18) or the verses about Śrī in 1.8.15-32 in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* are regarded as interpolations.¹ Similarly, the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* is considered

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1 Hazra, R. C. : *Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, Second ed, 1975, p. 21 and p. 24,

to be forming five different divisions,² with complete interpolation of the *Devīmāhātmya* text in it. But at the present state of our knowledge of these texts, it is impossible to remove all such interpolations in them, as they are all substantiated by the manuscript evidence that is available. Thus, it is not feasible to give to the scholars, the text that is free from all interpolations, revisions, redactions etc. Hence the term "an attempt" in the present case is more significant. Moreover, it is again "an attempt" as far as possible at restoring it to its supposed original form. Here again the words 'as far as possible' signify that it is an attempt as far as possible i.e. as far as our manuscript evidence can lead us to restore the text. It would be, therefore, clear that by the study of manuscript evidence, we can arrive at the purest, and the most ideal form of the text. It is thus an effort to present the best and the oldest form of the text, (though not always grammatically and metrically correct one) by the study of the entire manuscript material, available in various scripts, from different regions of India. It can aim at approximation & not final decision regarding the original form of the Purāṇa-text. This is the main problem and all other problems that follow are the corollaries or offshoots of this main problem of critical edition of the Purāṇa-texts.

While preparing the critical edition of Purāṇa-texts, one is required to face several practical difficulties to enumerate a few of them—(1) locating different mss., (2) acquiring their xerox or microfilm copies, (3) collating them on the collation-sheets, (4) preparing *stemma codicum* by finding interrelationship between mss., (5) Writing the critical apparatus of the enormous manuscript material that is collated, (6) and even printing the critical edition and its proof-reading. As all these are only the practical difficulties and not the problems in the strict sense of the term, I restrain myself from elaborating them here. The problem as I understand it, is something difficult of decision, or a knotty point requiring clarification. The above-mentioned difficulties could be overcome with appropriate academic and administrative set-up; but, there are certain problems in the way of preparing the critical editions of the Purāṇa-texts that are difficult to be solved. We have already seen the nature of the Purāṇa-texts and problems arising out of its nature. Now, we may elaborate some cases which may be termed as problems in preparing the critical editions of the Purāṇa-text, with special reference to and the examples from the work of the critical edition of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* that is in progress at the Oriental Institute.

2 Pargiter, F. E. : *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*-English Translation, Introduction P. IV and VI. DM. = *Devīmāhātmya*; VP. = *Viṣṇupurāṇa*; MKP. = *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*

(1) Problem due to regional difference in pronunciation of letter:—

One problem of spelling of the words arises due to the regional difference in the pronunciation of the *dantya* and *tālavya sa*. Both forms of *sa* are found utilized for a single word in the mss. All mss. from the North India invariably read *śāyaka* i.e. *tālavya sa* for the *dantya sa* i.e. *sāyaka*. Both forms are also to be found even in the dictionaries. Hence the question arises regarding the proper use of the letter. Which *Sa* is to be used here? Many such instances can be cited from DM. e.g. *Kesari*/*Keśari*, *Bhuṣuṇḍī*/*Bhusuṇḍī*, *Kauṣikī*/*Keuṣikī*, *Khura-kṣepa*/*Kṣurakṣepa*, *Dhutakesaraḥ*/*Dhutaḥkeśaraḥ*, *Somya*/*Saumya*; In all these cases the selection of any kind of letter does not affect the meaning. but when we come across the variant—*Śakte* and *sakte* (DM. 119) it becomes a serious case as it gives rise to difference in meaning also.

(2) The language and style of the composition of the Purāṇa-texts are so simple, flexible and elastic that the metrical irregularities are found in great abundance in them. These irregularities are generally of two types. (1) Unmetrical lines i.e. not conforming to the rules of the composition of the metre like *Anuṣṭubh* line with sixth letter short which should have been long, for example in (1) निसर्गतो विकलाङ्गी (VP. 3.10.17). (2) कम्बूनां चतुरशीतिः (DM. 8.4) here the suggestion to read *Caturāśiṭiḥ* to avoid metrical defect is also fraught with problems of interpretations. Actually, the narrator intends to convey the number eightyfour only.

(3) Similarly in बाणैरसिभिर्ऋष्टिभिः (DM. 8.61) the line is unmetrical, the fifth letter being long. Hence the variant बाणैरसिभि ऋष्टिभिः which is grammatically wrong is also found. In any case, either metrical or grammatical problem is bound to be there and there can be no solution to it.

(4) Sometimes, we also come across lines with hypermetric quarter e.g. वसवर्तिनश्च पञ्चैते (VP. 3.1.14). Here we get nine letters instead of eight and the variant like *vaśavartiṣca* meant for improving it is also not proper as in the context other previous names are also in plural form and not in singular. Hence that hypermetric *pāda* is required to be retained in the text.

(3) The Purāṇa-texts are also full of many unpāṇinian forms and the grammatical usages, which are even supported and authenticated by the majority of groups of mss. and hence the solitary attempts to improve these irregularities by the mss. are not taken into consideration for forming the text. For instance — लक्ष्म लज्जे महाविद्ये श्रद्धे पुष्टि स्वधे ध्रुवे । (DM 11.22) Though we have the variant *Puṣṭe* in some solitary mss., it could not be incorporated in the critical text, not being followed by different groups of mss. Similarly, in one and the same chapter, we get both forms of verbs namely *natāḥ smaḥ* and *natāḥ sma* both of them intended to convey the sense of present tense only and not the past tense. For instance the verses—मकया जताः स्म विदधातु शुभानि सा नः (DM. 4.3)—here we

can interpret it as *natāḥ smaḥ* but in the subsequent verse, the line is तां स्वां नताः स्म परिपालय देवि विश्वम् (DM. 4.5) can not be similarly interpreted as the word *sma* can not be understood as *smaḥ*. The commentators suggest us to take it as an indeclinable—an *avyaya* but even in that case, the meaning remains obscure and unclear. The line—वैवस्वतेऽन्तरे प्राप्ते अष्टाविंशतिमे युगे (DM. 11.41) here it should have been *aṣṭāviṃśatime*, but we get the above form only in all the mss. Though the commentators have tried their best to explain its grammatical correctness, it is a fact that it is an *ārṣa* form (as remarked by Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa) which has to be incorporated in the Critical Text. Many such examples can be found.

(4) At many places, the lines of the text are found with hiatus in their construction, and there are always attempts by the scribes to avoid such hiatus by inserting *ca*, *tu*, *hi* etc. For instance—In the above—cited quotation—वैवस्वतेऽन्तरे प्राप्ते अष्टाविंशतिमे युगे (DM. 11.41)—there is a hiatus between *prāpte* and *aṣṭāviṃśatime*, but as this hiatus is found in the majority of mss, it is to be incorporated in the critical text, though the construction with such hiatus does not sound proper to our mind. The scholars like Prof. Sukthankar have mostly preferred the epic text with the hiatus and efforts to avoid it are considered to be later improvements. Many such instances of hiatus could be cited from the Purāṇa-texts also.

(5) Sometimes, the construction of the line is so ambiguous that it becomes very difficult to interpret and understand it. Being supported by majority of groups of mss., One can not even make any improvement, while preparing the critical text. For example—उत्थाय च महासिंहं देवी चण्डमघावत । (DM 7.20)—Here two interpretations are possible—महासिंहं उत्थाय and महासिं उत्थाय हं (इति शब्दं कृत्वा) but in both cases, there are problems. In the first case, *utthāya* is required to be understood as *utthāpya* i.e. *mahāsiṃhaṃ utthāpya* and in the second case—*Ham iti Śabdām Kṛtvā* is required to be taken as *adhyāhṛta* (understood). In fact, the construction of the line in the text itself is clumsy. Similarly, at the beginning of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, we have a verse—

इति तस्य वचः श्रुत्वा मार्कण्डेयो महासुनिः ।

दशाष्टदोषरहितं वक्तुं समुपचक्रमे ॥ MKP. 1.18

Here both *daśāṣṭadoṣarahitaḥ* and *°rahitam* are found in mss., but if it is taken as *daśāṣṭadoṣarahitaḥ*, it will qualify Mārkaṇḍeya, but it is an improved form of the earlier word with *°rahitam*. The scribes might have thought that if *daśāṣṭadoṣarahitam* is taken, it would qualify the listener i.e. Jaimini—दशाष्टदोषरहितं (जैमिनिं) वक्तुं समुपचक्रमे—which would be improper, as the importance is to be given to Mārkaṇḍeya and not to Jaimini, who is the listener. Hence they improved the text by making it *°rahitam*, qualifying Mārkaṇḍeya, but in reality the quarter *daśāṣṭadoṣarahitam* is to be taken adverbially in the sense—दशाष्टदोषरहितं

(यस्मिन्कर्षणि यथा स्यात्तथा) वक्तुं समुपचक्रमे। The scholars have also enumerated 18 faults of a speaker. In any case, construction here also is some what obscure & generally ordinary people who can not understand these inner implications are bound to find fault with this genuine reading. The following verse, referred to previously also requires consideration once again here—

लक्ष्मि लज्जे महाविद्ये श्रद्धे पुष्टि स्वधे ध्रुवे ।
महारानि महाविद्ये नारायणि नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ (DM. 11.22)

Here we have the word *Mahāvidye* in both the lines. Generally, one would not like such repetition in the same verse and hence some groups of mss. (mostly from South) improve it by reading *Mahāmāye* in the place of *Mahāvidye* in the second line, which is not at all approved by all the Northern mss. of the text. The commentators, supporting the reading *mahāvidye* in both lines, interpret the word in the second line as *Mahā-avidye*, thus giving rise to a separate meaning. Still the problem remains as it is, as generally the readers would find the same word repeated in both lines.

(6) Interpretation is to be given preference to emendation, and we have found how the text is attempted to be interpreted without emending it. But in some solitary cases, it happens that the editor is required to emend the text, looking to the internal evidence, though not supported by the mss. For example in the line—

ऊर्जःस्तम्भस्तथा प्राणो दत्तोर्लिङ्गभस्तथा ।
निश्चरश्चार्चरीवाँश्च तत्र सप्तर्षयोऽभवन् ॥ VP. 3.1.91

it was necessary to split the word into *Ūrjah & Stambho*, to be counted as two separate names instead of one name, because there is enumeration of seven sages; If it is taken as one name, the names would be six only.

(7) There are serious problems in constituting the text of the fourth *amśa* of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* which is in prose. It contains genealogies of sages and dynasties of kings of Kali Age. Here the mss. display so many variations in the names and spellings of the sages & kings that it becomes very difficult to decide among the array of variants available. We can appropriately prepare the pāda-Index of all the other *Amśas* of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, but preparing the pāda or line Index of this portion is also fraught with many unsolvable problems. Pāda-Index of it is in other words an impossible task.

It would be clear from the above elaboration that there are many such problems, which arise due to the very nature of the Purāṇa-texts, as folk-literature the literature of the masses, handled by rhapsodists, who were not expected to be good poets, linguists or grammarians. Hence even after preparing the Critical Edition on the basis of all the available oldest, purest and the best mss. in different scripts, some such problems as mentioned above remain in the Constituted Text.

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THE STYLISTIC VALUE OF SYNONYMS

By

T. VASUDEVAN *

The study of the choice of synonyms made in creative literature is an interesting field of modern stylistics. This paper attempts to place together some modern views regarding the use of synonyms and the view held by the 10th-11th century Sanskrit poetician Rājānaka Kuntaka about the significance of synonyms in the language of poetry.

Stephen Ullmann in his work *Semantics* tries to explain the stylistic value of synonyms as follows :—

If more than one word is available for the expression of the same idea, the writer will select the one which is best suited to the context : the one which will carry the right amount of emotion and emphasis, which will fit most harmoniously into the phonetic structure of the sentence and which will be best attuned to the general tone of utterance¹.

The stylistic choice which is often connected with a keen search by the writer for the apt word to be used takes into account of the subtle characteristics of the various synonyms of that word before he/she settles down on the best choice. W.E. Collinson gives² nine typical differences between synonyms as follows :

1. One term is more general than another e.g., refuse - reject.
2. One term is more intense than another e.g., repudiate—refuse.
3. One term is more emotive than another e.g., reject—decline.
4. One term may imply more approbation or censure where another is natural e.g. thrifty—economical.
5. One term is more professional than another e.g., decease—death.
6. One term is more literal than another e.g., passing— death.
7. One term is more colloquial than another e.g., turn down—refuse.
8. One term is more local or dialectal than another e.g., flesher—butcher.
9. One of the synonyms belongs to child talk e.g., daddy - father.

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1. Stephen Ullmann, *Semantics: Introduction to Science of Meaning*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1962, p. 151

2. *Ibid.* pp 142-3

In the above list, as Ullmann observes, item no 1 refers to objective differences between synonyms. The 2nd type combines objective and emotive factors. The 3rd and 4th include emotive factors. Item nos. 5, 6 and 7 involve evocative effects which are a special type of emotive meaning.³

According to Ullmann, the interchange-ability of synonyms are tested by 'substitution' test. If the differences between synonyms are predominantly objective they may be interchanged in same context as they may have a certain overlap in the meaning. But if the difference is mainly emotive, there may be no overlapping of meanings and they belong to totally different registers or levels of style and cannot be interchanged.⁴

The stylistic use of combinations of synonyms is also very interesting. This comes in two ways: the synonyms may occur at intervals or may be arranged in close contact with one another. In the first use of combination, synonyms are used to avoid the repetition of the same word or the same idea for variation. The second is a kind of collocation of synonyms which is used to express powerful emotions as in

O, that this too solid flesh would melt,
that, and resolve itself into a dew (*Hamlet*)⁵

Combinations of synonyms are also used to make one's meaning clearer and more emphatic. A word would be explained by adding to it a synonym. Stephen Ullmann points out some of the reasons behind the uses of synonyms as follows.⁶

1. People like to hear good words in succession and it causes a flow of synonyms.
2. Poets use synonyms motivated by the exigencies of metre.
3. A collocation of synonyms could produce a contrast effect either serious or humorous.
4. Synonym is used to correct one's use of word when one wishes to replace a word by a more appropriate one.
5. When a poet tries to formulate his thoughts and ideas he may put in his text all the various synonyms that come to his mind.

In this context it is necessary to take account of L. Bloom-field's argument that there are no actual synonyms since each different linguistic form has a constant and specific meaning. He says:

3. *Ibid* p 143.

4. *Ibid* p. 152.

5. *Ibid*, p. 153.

6. *Ibid*.

“ If the forms are phonetically different, we suppose that their meanings are also different—for instance, that each one of a set of forms like quick, fast, swift, rapid, speedy, differs from all others in some constant and conventional feature of meaning ”.⁷

It is not uncommon that a poet may choose a periphrastic expression instead of a direct one for stylistic effects. “ There are situations ” observes Ullmann, “ where we have to call Paris and others where we have to call it the Capital of France ”.⁸ According to him in the collocation of synonyms, the terms in a paradigmatic relationship may be combined and connected syntagmatically.⁹

Rājānaka Kuntaka, the Sanskrit poetician whose concept of *Vakrokti* or figurative language resembles some of the modern concepts of style and stylistics, has given an aesthetic study of synonyms while discussing the lexical figurativeness or *padapūrvārtha vakratā* in the language of poetry. He calls the poet's art in the use of synonyms as *paryāyavakratā*.¹⁰ Out of a number of possible synonyms the poet chooses a single one which is especially significant in the context. This skilled use of synonyms may imply meanings not conceived in the plain or literal meaning of the word.

Kuntaka explains six kinds of artistic use of synonyms in poetic language.¹¹ A synonym may

1. approximate most to the meaning (*abhidheyāntaratama*)
2. add to the beauty of meaning or object considerably
(*tasyātiśayapoṣaka*)
3. carry figurative beauty along with it
(*tadalanīkartumīśvara*)
4. contribute to a new lease of excellence
(*svacchāyotkarṣapeśala*)
5. hint at a meaning almost not plausible to be imagined about the object under description (*asañbhāvvyārthapātratvagarbha*)
6. contain figurative elements conducive to beauty
(*alanīkāropasañskāramanohāri vibhūṣaṇa*)

7. Bloomfield L., *Language*, New York, 1953, p. 145 as quoted by Ullmann, Stephen, *Language and Style*, Collected papers, Basil Blackwell, Oxford 1964, p. 74.

8. Ullman Stephen, *Meaning and style*, Collected papers, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1973. p. 58

9. *Ibid.* p. 59

10. Kuntaka, *Vakroktijīvitā*. Critical Edn. with Eng. Trans. by Krishna-moorthy K., Karnatak University, Dharward, 1977, p. 29.

11. For the discussion of these Vide *Ibid.* pp. 85-92: pp. 374-380.

In the first type the synonym chosen by the poet should be the closest one to that particular shade of meaning which he intends to convey. The other synonyms available would not be able to convey that particular meaning intended. For example :

I have other arrows of mine in my cave and they form the wealth of *vajrī* (thunder wielding god).¹²

(*Kirātārjunīyam*)

In these words the synonym *vajrī* (thunder wielding god) is used to denote Indra, choosing it from his numerous other synonyms, in order to convey Indra's superior striking capacity and the extraordinary strength of the arrows. Such uses of synonyms approximate most of the meanings intended by the poet.

In the second type of synonym, the beauty of an object endowed with natural grace is further enhanced. For example, the synonyms of moon used in the following verse addressed to Sitā by Rāma :

Oh ! beauty, let this moon be perceived by you, he is the kinsman of the kings of Raghu dynasty, the preceptor of the arts of love, the well-known resemblance for the face of white ladies, husband of the star-brides, the crest-jewel of the lord of Chandi and the bearer of the resplendence of the newly washed teeth of southern ladies.¹³

(*Bālarāmāyaṇa*)

Kuntaka points out that each of the synonym of moon used in this piece of poem highlights a new aspect of beauty of the meaning ' moon ' and so there is no fault of redundancy in the many epithets used.¹⁴

The next variety of synonym cited as third above carries figurative beauty alongwith it. For example, " the elephant at once destroyed the bee who sang sweetly. After all, indeed he is called a *mātāṅga* ". Here the word *mātāṅga* denotes elephant but it also gives rise to the non-contextual meaning of a butcher (*caṇḍāla*). These two meanings are bound by the figure of metaphor and a new aspect of beauty by the use of synonym of elephant *mātāṅga* originates. In these types of synonyms the contextual and non-contextual meanings are always related by simile or metaphor. This use of synonym has been equated by Ānandavardhana as the area of *Śabdaśaktimūla anuraṇan-arūpa vyaṅgya* of *padadhvani*¹⁵ in which words used could not be substituted by the other synonyms. In the example:

कुसुमसमयुगमुपसंहरन्तुःकुलमल्लिकाधवलाट्टहासो व्यजृम्भत ग्रीष्माभिधानो महाकालः ।

12. *Ibid*, p, 86, p. 374.

13. *Ibid* p. 87.

14. *Ibid*, p. 88.

15. *Ibid*, p. 89.

The words *yuga* etc. are used to refer to the subject under description but suggest another meaning concerning Śiva. Thus they produce suggested figure of speech which is a new shade of poetic beauty as propounded by Ānandavardhana. In the example "*Bhaṣmīcakāra madanam nanu kāṣṭhameva* or reduced to ashes cupid, a mere wood," the word *kāṣṭha* or wood, an epithet of cupid, shows his saplessness.¹⁶ It brings in the shade of metaphor and contains the beauty of a synonym.

The fourth type of synonym, according to Kuntaka, by its own merit contributes to a new lease of excellence. It possesses originality in the presentation of the subject. For example: "the sorrow of separation agitates me raised by the rays of the *viṣamakāṇḍakuṭumba* (the relative of the five arrowed cupid)". Here the word *viṣamakāṇḍakuṭumba* is used as a synonym of the moon. This usage is unfamiliar or a new coinage but suitable in this context of speech by a love-lorn hero who feels pain by the moon rays. As they reveal special charm and originality poets are attracted to such kinds of synonyms. Instead of "*kṛṣṇakuṭilakeśa*" or lady with dark and curly hair they use "*yamunākallolava-kṛālaka*" or a lady with hair curly like waves of river Yamunā¹⁷ and the like.

In the fifth variety, a synonym implies an unpalatable meaning of the object under description. For example:

Stop your effort, O Mahīpāla (ruler of the earth)! even if it is discharged, the missile will be in vain.¹⁸

(*Raghuvamśa*)

Here the term *mahīpāla* which means the King used for Dilīpa shows his great strength to protect entire earth but at the same time brings out by contrast the King's inability to protect his preceptor's cow. This unpalatable idea is indicated in the synonym *mahīpāla* which ironically suggests the King's weakness, producing a contrast effect.

Some synonyms contain figurative elements. Kuntaka defines them as *alāṅkāropasamīkāra* and explains the word according to the instrumental and genitive senses. Hence the type of synonyms contain beauty achieved by *alāṅkāras* like metaphor or the beauty gained by synonym that enriches the *alāṅkāras* like metaphor etc. An example for the beauty achieved by the skilled employment of the figure of speech is the following:

May the moon unique remove your grief, the moon who is the favourite hand-fan of the goddess, the enduring light in her private chamber, the veritable missile during love-quarrels....¹⁹

16. *Ibid* p. 377.

17. *Ibid* p. 90, p. 378

18. *Ibid* pp. 90-1.

19. *Ibid* p. 92, p. 380

The metaphor contained in the super imposition of identity between the moon and the objects like fan, light, missile etc. adds beauty to all those synonyms. Some synonyms give beauty to the figures like metaphor. For example,

देवि त्वन्मुखपङ्कजेन शशिनः शोभातिरस्कारिणा ।

पद्मपद्मानि विनिर्जितानि सहसा गच्छन्ति विच्छायाताम् ॥²⁰

“Oh queen!! the lotus flowers completely defeated by your face lotus that discards the luster of the moon, suddenly becomes bereft of any luster”. Here the synonym *śaśinaḥ śobhātīraskārīṇā* adds to the beauty of the metaphor “*muḥ hapaṅkaja*”.

Explaining lexical figurativeness, Kuntaka and the Western stylisticians repeatedly stress that a word used in a particular context should invariably convey the intended meaning. There may be a number of words which could convey a singular meaning more or less correctly in the common language. But in the language of poetry a synonym which approximates most to the meaning intended should be used. This meaning may be general or special, neutral or emotive. The proper use of synonyms, thus, leads to the proper expression in the language of poetry.

The combinations or collection of synonyms used for stylistic effects is also noted by Kuntaka. For example, he considers the humorous or ironical effect produced by the combination of synonyms used by Bhīma to address Karna in *Veṅṛisamhāra*:

O King of Aṅga, Commander in chief, the emperor's favourite,
now protect this Duhśāsana from Bhīma.²¹

In this way, as this brief study reveals, Kuntaka, like the modern stylisticians, contributes much to the analysis of the emotive overtones of synonyms, the suggestive and figurative elements contained in them and also of the combination and collocation of synonyms. He does this with a view of the actual benefit made by the use of synonyms in the enhancement of poetic beauty.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.* p. 28, p. 315.

PROBABLE IMPROPRIETIES IN THE MRCCHAKAṬIKA—A REVIEW

By

K. V. VENKATESWARA RAO*

Śūdraka's *Mrcchakaṭika* is no doubt a unique drama which won the admiration of many a scholar. In ten acts this *prakaraṇa* depicts the love story of Cārudatta and Vasantasenā. Besides this, Śūdraka delineates in this work the corruptness in legal procedure, the nature of villains and destiny.¹ The *Mrcchakaṭika* not only testifies to the genius of the poet but throws ample light on the then existing society in a vivid manner. This quality itself made the drama so popular in the field of Sanskrit drama.

Despite its great popularity, it is observed that there are certain improprieties which go against the rules of Bharata. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* formulates several rules to be followed by the playwrights. Scholars opine that Bharata lived between 150 B.C. and 200 A.D. Regarding Śūdraka's date many scholars have different opinions. Hence, one cannot say whether Śūdraka knew the *Nāṭyaśāstra* or not. Bharata composed his work basing on the then existing principles and norms of drama. If one views the *Mrcchakaṭika* keeping in view the rules of Bharata he would know that there are some improprieties in the work. Before going into detail, it is necessary to know about *Dharmī* according to Bharata. He classified *Dhurmī* into two types, one is *Lokadharmī*, i.e., Realism and the other *Nāṭyadharmī*, i.e., Idealism.² While in speech mere pronunciation of sentences is *Lokadharmī*. It is known as *Nāṭyadharmī* when it is sung in accompaniment of *Rāgas*. Bharata mentions some other places of *Nāṭyadharmī*.³ The characteristic feature of *Nāṭyadharmī* is that the actors do not listen to each other's words uttered nearby but they do hear the untold words.⁴ *Nāṭyadharmī* is anything peculiar to drama and which is not found

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1 *Mrcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka, Ed. and translated by M. R. Kale and pub. by Motilal Banarashidass, Delhi, p. 8, verse 7.

2 *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, chapter XIV, verse 69.

3 *Ibid*, verses 76-78.

4 *Ibid*, verse 75.

exactly in the same manner in the world. *Lokadharmī* is the natural condition of things in the world.⁵

Bharata's definition of *Lokadharmī* is elaborate and clear.⁶ Natural events when realistically presented on the stage are called *Lokadharmī*, but, such a presentation has no artistic value and, therefore, is not appealing to the audience. When the same events are presented with certain additions and artistic modifications, they become appealing and enjoyable. What additions or artistic alterations are to be made must be decided only by the genius of the playwright. It is clear that *Lokadharmī* cannot mean vulgarity and obscenity. Bharata is very much aware of this and stands for decency. He precludes all vulgarity.⁷ Certain scenes like eating, sleeping (lying), kissing and embracing of lovers and the like are prohibited on the stage. He clearly mentions the reason for not permitting them for exhibition. Since it is witnessed by a father, son, daughter-in-law, mother-in-law and others it should not cause any embarrassment to anyone of them even when they all go together. In representing various activities of women, there should be no use of unguents and collyrium, no decoration of the body and no holding of breasts and hair. Women of the upper and middle types should not be shown as poorly covered or wearing only one piece of garment and they should use no colour for their lips. Such a rule of dresses will suit only the women of inferior type because of their low nature. Still the dramatist is advised against describing such scenes even in case of a common woman (*Sāmānā*).⁸

Another important point to be noted is that tragedy has no place in Sanskrit drama though tragic element has. People desire to enjoy an entertainment so that they would be free from their mental gloom. Tragedy will only add to the mental gloom of the spectator. This itself is the main reason for the absence of tragedies in Sanskrit excepting one or two. According to Bharata a battle, loss of kingdom, death and siege of a city being not directly visible in an act, should be presented by introductory scenes (*Praveśaka*).⁹ Hence, an expert playwright must always avoid showing the above prohibited scenes on the stage.

Now, if one reads the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, keeping in mind the prohibitions of Bharata, one knows that there are improprieties that have crept into the work.

Sleep has been described on two occasions. In the 3rd Act, a servant of Cārudatta by name Vardhamānaka awaiting the arrival of his master and Maitreya says that he would go to the room near the outer entrance and sleep

5 *Ibid*, XXIII, verse 193 'Svabhāvo lokadharmī tu nātyadharmī vikāraḥ.'

6 *Nāṭyaśāstra*, XIV, verses 70-71

7 *Ibid*, XXIV, verses 285-289

8 *Ibid*, verses 232-34

9 *Ibid*, XVIII verse 38, Baroda edition

and does accordingly.¹⁰ In the same Act Śarvilaka, the thief, says that two men are sleeping.¹¹ It cannot be a mere statement of Śarvilaka about the sleep of two men but both of them are shown on the stage and Maitreya utters words in his sleep. Consequently, Śarvilaka succeeds in stealing the golden ornaments. In both these places, Śūdraka has a purpose to serve by the introduction of these scenes. So far as the former is concerned Vardhamānaka does this in order to open the door for his master. The latter is significant in view of the theft scene to be enacted. The utterances of Vidūṣaka in sleep add charm to the scene providing a sense of humour in the audience.

Leaving aside the doubt whether Śūdraka knew about the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the prohibitions of Bharata, if one understands the *Mṛcchakaṭika* in its right perspective, one knows that Śūdraka tried to make things more realistic. In the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, realism is the one that appeals to all. A work describing contemporary social conditions of people, their ideas, habits and others naturally wins the admiration of all. Such a great work was composed by Śūdraka. Thus, *Mṛcchakaṭika* has much *Lokadharmī* aspect described in it. It throws abundant light on the social life of people, politics and religion.

In the 5th Act of the work, Vasantasenā while displaying the emotion of love embraces Cārudatta. Cārudatta too displays the pleasure of her touch and embraces her in return.¹² Hugging of a male and female with the emotion of love is prohibited on the stage. Śūdraka did introduce this scene in his work because in his opinion it is not unbecoming. Here, Vasantasenā is a courtesan and *Praudhā* who takes initiative in the love affair. She loves Cārudatta very much. Being an expert in several arts she knows everything that can bring her close to Cārudatta.

As already pointed out death should not be shown on the stage. In the 8th Act of the play due to the interchange of carriages Vasantasenā reaches the garden by name Puṣpakaraṇḍaka. After Śākāra's futile efforts to woo Vasantasenā, the former strangulates her and tries to kill her. Fainting of Vasantasenā and her falling down senseless are shown on the stage. Whatever may be the truth regarding Vasantasenā's death, audience in that particular scene knows for certain that Vasantasenā is murdered by Śākāra. If the same is conveyed by somebody through *Viṣkambhaka*, the extent of sorrow would be less. Still the death has been shown on the stage.

10 *Mṛcchakaṭika*. p. 104, line 2.

11 *Ibid*, p. 116, line 9

12 *Ibid*, p. 210, lines 11-12

This may be due to the Greek influence prevalent in those days. In many of the Greek dramas and English dramas that followed them, one finds death scenes and scenes of murder exhibited on the stage without any hesitation. The stabbing scene of Julius Ceaser in the play 'Julius Ceaser' amply bears testimony to this kind of practice in the Western Dramas.

Hence, Śūdraka introduced the above scenes discussed in this play in order to bring about realism. In spite of these small lapses here and there, the *Mrcchakaṭika* has been hailed as an ideal drama reflecting the social, ethical, religious and political conditions of those times.

MIGRATION OF YĀDAVAS FROM MATHURA TO DWARAKA: CHRONOLOGY OF THE MYTH*

By

R. N. MEHTA†

Introduction :

In Vaiṣṇava tradition migration of Yādavas from Mathura to Dwaraka took place upon the advice of Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa's career is also an amalgam of a long tradition. Kṛṣṇa as a Ṛṣi¹ and son of Devakī² is well known from the *Rgveda* and the Upaniṣads. These literary references alongwith the ideas represented in the *Sūktas* composed by him and the philosophy taught to him by his teacher Ghora Āṅgīrasa is also reflected in the religio-philosophical literature of the Vaiṣṇava schools, that identify Kṛṣṇa as the supreme deity.

These evidences from the Vedic tradition give the historicity and long life reaching to the Vedic literature of a period earlier than about 2000 B.C. to Kṛṣṇa. From this period Vaiṣṇava tradition is enriched with the passage of time. The chronology of this enrichment is essential for a good historical account on the basis of the comparison of mythical and archaeological data both written and unwritten. Mythologically the *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas* narrate the life of Kṛṣṇa with the elements noted above as well as many incidents in his life. Significantly, it is an accepted fact that these elements went on increasing and a large Kṛṣṇa Saga has developed with passage of time.

This literature is examined for its historical contents. The older scholarship had already noted that growth of *Mahābhārata* from *Jaya-saṁhitā*, to *Bhārata* and *Mahābhārata*. Modern scholarship tries to introduce time factor in his growth as well as in the other Purāṇic literature.

In this direction, the present effort is made to consider the chronology of the myth of migration of Yādavas from Mathura to Dwaraka, upon the advice of Kṛṣṇa as noted in *Harivaṁśa*,³ the *Khila* or addenda of the *Mahābhārata*. It may be indicated that the *Viṣṇu* and the *Bhāgavata* both summarise this myth.

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1 *Rgveda*, VIII, 85, 86, 87; X, 42, 43, 44.

2 *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 3.17.

3 *Harivaṁśa*, *Viṣṇu Parva*, Ad. 52-58; The main incidents are summarised in *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 5th *Amśa*, *Adhyāyas*; 22-23; *Bhāgavata* X, 51.

The Myth :

The basic elements of the myth as noted in *Viṣṇu Parva* of the *Harivaṃśa* are as under:

- 1 After the death of Kāṃsa, Yādavas were attacked by Jarāsandha and Kālayavana.
- 2 Though Yādavas resisted the army of Jarāsandha, the pressure increased to a great extent
- 3 Kālayavana also developed the pressure.
- 4 Under this threat of Jarāsandha from the East as well as by Kālayavana from the North-west, Yādavas were advised by Kṛṣṇa to migrate to Dwaraka on the Western coast.
- 5 Yādavas migrated to Dwaraka, where Viśvakarmā had developed the city.

This incident occupies seven *Adhyāyas* of the *Harivaṃśa*. But the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* summarised it in two chapters and the *Bhāgavata* has only a few *śloka*s about it. This fact indicates that the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* has a better summary of the myth as compared to that of the *Bhāgavata*. So it is examined on the basis of the finest narration that is available in *Harivaṃśa*. The Gita Press edition of *Harivaṃśa* is used in the study. The critical edition of the text is also consulted.

Discussion :

The examination of these elements of the myth indicates that there was a threat on Mathura from the East as well as the North-west as Jarāsandha of Magadha and Kālayavana, a Greek ruler, were involved. This was the primary cause of the migration.

If one can ascertain the time factor of this military threat to Mathura from historical data, it is possible to indicate the approximate period of the origin of the myth.

The problem has two facets. One of them is the activity of the Śuṅgas from the East and the other is the more or less contemporaneity of the Yavana threat on Mathura from the North-west.

Magadha :

After the collapse of the Mauryas, the Śuṅgas⁴ who came to power in Magadha had to meet not only the challenge of the Yavanas but to regain the control of the areas west of Magadha. For this effort they had to lead

4 Majumdar R. C., (Ed.) *Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 101ff; Lahiri A. N.: *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, p. 2.

expeditions. It is interesting to note that Jarāsandha, the emperor from Bihar, attacked Mathura. According to the *Mahābhārata*, *Ādi Parva*, 61.4 he is an incarnation of *Vipracitti*. The term *Vipracitti* could signify an intelligent brāhmaṇa and indicate the attack of the Śuṅgas, who were brahmins. In cir. second first century B.C. they were active.

Yavanas and India :

The threat on Mathura from the Yavanas is ascribed to Kālayavana. It is therefore necessary to examine in brief the relation of the Greeks or Yavanas and Indians.

Historically Indians knew the Yavanas⁵ from at least the time of the Perso-Greek conflict in the 5th-4th century B.C. The first Yavana ruler to come upto India was Alexander, in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. He was no threat to Mathura as he retreated from the Punjab part of Pakistan.

After the collapse of the Mauryan empire several Indo-Greek or the Yavana rulers entered North India and moved upto Sāketa and even ruled in North-western part of India. Their exploits are noted in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* as well as in other literary works. During this period, specially of second-first century B.C., Mathura was thus threatened from the North-west by the Yavanas. After this period Yavanas or Greeks had lost their political and military power to the Śakas.

Mythical Names :

The myth associates the name of Kālayavana and Jarāsandha for this pressure on Mathura. However, the names of the actual rulers are mythologised so that their identity cannot be satisfactorily ascertained.

Meaning of Kālayavana :

Under this condition, the name Kālayavana⁶ becomes significant. In the Greek language the word 'Kāla' stands for good, so 'Kālayavana' becomes a good Yavana or Greek. It is interesting to note that equivalent to good morning the Greek term is 'Kālī Emerus,' good woman is 'Kālī Gineka,' good man is 'Kālos Anthropol' etc. A sentence like 'Mahatma Gandhi Etan Kālos Anthropol' would stand for the English rendering Mahatma Gandhi was a good man. These examples would suggest that Kālayavana was a good Greek.

This interpretation gets support from the description of the rule of Kālayavana as just, kind and equitable as noted in the *Harivaṃśa*.⁷ His good

5 *Ibid*, pp. 95ff.

6 Information from Prof. Shivaji Simgha, Retd. Prof. and Head, Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, Gorakhpur University.

7 *Harivaṃśa*, *Viṣṇu-Parva*, 53.2-4.

government, his reception of the delegation under Śālva suggests further that he was an able good ruler.

It may be pointed out that among the Yavana rulers Vaiṣṇava influence is observed. The Besnagar inscription⁸ for erecting the Garuḍadhvaja by Heliodorus, an ambassador of Yavana ruler of Takṣaśilā and the coins of Agathocles⁹ having the representation of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa that are discovered from Ai Khanoun in Afghanistan in 1970, bear witness to this fact.

The perusal of the genesis of Kālayavana suggests that he was a son of Garga, who was brought up by a Yavana ruler. This effort might explain the Vaiṣṇava leaning of at least a section of the Yavanas. The relationship of Yavanas in social field is indicated by the marriage of the princess of Selukos Nikator with Chandragupta Maurya, the presence of Yavana embassies in Indian courts and the Indian presence in the court of the Yavanas.

Such features indicating the Yavana-Indian relationship, and their Vaiṣṇava leaning seem to offer an explanation of the incident of Kālayavana's destruction. The myth notes that Kṛṣṇa did not kill him but used Mucukunda for his end. Possibly the Vaiṣṇava element in the Yavanas might be responsible for this consideration by the mythologist. Mucukunda's episode, if treated historically, would suggest the end of the rule of the Yavanas in cir. 1st cent. B.C.

These relationships do not come in the way of political confrontation. So the Yavanas tried to bring Mathura under their control in the 2nd-1st century B.C. During this period the Śūṅgas were also trying to re-establish the control of Magadha in this region. This political instability led to the migration of Yadavas from Mathura to Dwaraka during the same period.

Conclusion :

Thus the socio-political situation of the second-first century B.C. gets reflected in the myth of Kālayavana and Jarāsandha in *Harivaṁśa*. If the evidence of the critical edition be taken into consideration, the date would come down to about first-second century A.D.

Harivaṁśa is a *Khila* or addition in the *Mahābhārata*. The editor, of the Critical Edition of *Harivaṁśa*, Dr. P. L. Vaidya notes about the date of this work that "Harivaṁśa received numerous such additions since its composition at about 400 A.D.... I thus claim for my constituted text an antiquity ranging from the 4th to 11th century A.D." ¹⁰

8 Sircar D. C., *Select Inscriptions*, Besnagar Garuḍa Pillar Inscription of the time of Bhāgabhadra, regnal year-14, p. 88.

9 Guillaume, Olivier, *Graeco Bactrian and Indian Coins from Afghanistan*, Oxford, 1991, pp. 84ff, plate IV-A & C., pl. VI.

10 Vaidya, P. L., *Harivaṁśa*, p. XV.

As *Harivaṃśa* was composed around 400 A.D., it is reasonable to suggest that the socio-political conditions of India of a period of two to six centuries prior to its composition was a fertile field for the growth of the myth of good Vaiṣṇava Yavanas that were mixed up with those who attacked Mathura, and forced a migration from that region to Dwaraka.

These myths were amalgamated in the exploits of Kṛṣṇa who was already a powerful deity. He was known and worshipped by not only the Indians but also by the Yavanas in the second-first century B.C.

It may be pointed out that in the long Vaiṣṇava tradition reaching to the Vedic literature, the references to Yavanas were added after 4th century B.C. Under these additions the story of the attack of Kālayavana and Jarāsandha was developed to explain the conditions around Mathura in second-first century B.C. It became the part of *Bhārata* which according to the *Anukramaṇikā* is noted to have all the eighteen *parvas* and the *Khila Harivaṃśa*.¹¹

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¹¹ *Mahābhārata*, *Ādiparva*, 2,69 and 233.

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INDIA

SAPTAMĀTRKĀ WORSHIP IN MEDIEVAL KERALA
(Correlation Between Political Strategy and Religious Ideology)

By

V. T. PADMAJA*

Śaktism in its present form is essentially a medieval religion but it is a direct offshoot of the primitive Mother goddess cult. *Śakti* is worshipped in various forms and numerous shrines were dedicated to her in different parts of the country. Among her diverse forms, the cult of seven mothers or *Saptamātrkā* had a wide popularity in India, maintaining its individuality, despite the growing cult of *Devī*, which absorbed many other goddesses and often altered them beyond recognition.

The antiquity of this cult can be traced back to Indus valley and Vedic period.¹ Earliest depiction of *Saptamātrkā* goes back to Kushana period.² They were tutelary deities of Guptas, and their feudatories Kadambas and Chalukyas.³ This cult flourished in post Gupta period and in the early medieval period. Sculptural representations in the Pallava, Pandya and Muttariyar cave temples and the references in the inscriptions of Chola kings indicate the prevalence of this cult during their reigns.⁴ At the close of twelfth century the popularity of this cult has been lessened. Perhaps it may be due to the religious rivalry among different sects, which were amalgamated for a common cause at an earlier stage. It can be assumed that this cult might have emerged when all the Brahmanical sects had to unite against the non Brahmanical sects, who opposed Brahmanical supremacy.

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1 Padmaja, V. T. " *Śakti Cult in Gujarat with Special Reference to Śākta Pīṭhas*," A Thesis submitted in the Dept. of Archaeology, M. S. University Baroda, pp. 6-12.

2 Agarwala, R. C., "Mātrka Reliefs in Early Indian Art," " *East and West*," Vol. 21, Nos. 1-2, March-June, 1971, pp. 79-80.

3 Salatore, R. N., *Encyclopaedia of Indian Culture*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1985, p. 1307.

4 Sreenivasan, C. P. "Saptamātrkas," *Journal of Oriental Institute*, Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 3-4, 1975, p. 433.

In South India, *Devī* cult developed as in other parts of India. Three decades ago, K. R. Sreenivasan has substantiated in one of his articles that from thirteenth century onwards, *Devī* shrines were a prominent feature of Hindu temple worship in Tamil country.⁵ One decade ago Burton Stein tried to find out the reasons for such a development after thirteenth century in Tamilnadu. According to him the prominence given to *Devī* from thirteenth century marked a significant universalisation of folk ritual. It was part of a larger social process involving the insertion of folk elements into the highest levels of cultural activities.⁶

According to epigraphical evidences and Āgama texts, prior to thirteenth century, at least from eighth century onwards, *Devī* images within a temple, but not separately sheltered, were common.⁷ Among them the most important were, Durgā, Jyeṣṭhā and Saptamātṛkā. There were separate shrines of *Saptamātṛkā* at Alampakkam (Tiruchirapalli) of early ninth century and at Velachery and Tiruttani in modern Chingleput district of early and middle tenth century.⁸

In Kerala, though from ninth century onwards images of *Saptamātṛkā* were found, separate shrines to enshrine these deities were constructed only after fourteenth century that is in the post Cera period, at the time of the rule of minor principalities. During this time the political life in Kerala was characterised by the distracted political condition with a number of petty chieftains engaged in endless feuds and curious religious policy. The famous *Māmāṅkam* festival celebrated in the Thirunāvāyamaṇappuram in the memory of Zamorins' fight with Vellattiris—is the best example for the war like attitude of the rulers which affected the common people. Always on the occasions of *Taipūyam* and *Māmāṅkam*, Zamorins had to face one conflict or the other.⁹

5 Sreenivasan, K. R., "Tirukāmakōttam", *Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference*, Nagpur, 1940, (Lucknow 1940). Also see his later paper dealing with this and related matters "Some aspects of Religion as revealed by Early movements & Literature in the South," *Śhnikara Pārvaṭi Endowment Lectures*, 1959-60, Madras University, Madras, 1960.

6 Stein Burton, "Devī Shrines and Folk Hinduism in Medieval Tamilnadu", *Studies in the Language and Culture of South Asia*, edited by Edwin Gerow and Mergery D. Lang, Seattle University of Washington Press, 1973.

7 Sreenivasan, "Some Aspects of Religion", *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 24-26.

9 Nambuthiri N. M., *Sāmuthiri Charithrathinte Kāṇāppurāṅgal*, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram, 1987.

Bhagavatī is the deity par excellence in times of political catastrophes. People generally turn to their patron goddess for help and protection. Popular legends associate the appearance of the patron goddess in human form in sore distress. Thus it is believed that the patron goddess of Vellattiri, Thirumāndhām Kunnu *Bhagavatī*, Angādippuram faught with the Zamorins by standing in front of the force of Vellattiri. When Zamorin could not defeat Vellattiri, he thought that Thirumāndhām Kunnu *Bhagavatī* is more powerful and started worshipping her in the same way Vellattiri worshipped.¹⁰ Therefore he constructed a rectangular shrine and installed the image of *Bhagavatī* with *Saptamātrkā* in his own region. Since goddess or *Bhagavatī* is worshipped during the political catastrophes, she has given the war goddess aspect and gained the position of *Kuladevatā* of ruling families.

One significant point to be noted, is that, the rectangular shrines to enshrine the *Saptamātrkā* in Kerala are constructed in the post Chera period at the time of the rule of minor principalities. They always had war with each other. Only in the shrines of their *Kuladevatās*, the images of *Saptamātrkā* are installed in the *Garbhagrha*. Before that their place was only in the *Antaramaṇḍala* of Śiva temples. The traditional origin of *Saptamātrkā* is said to be at the time of the war of *Devī* with Andhakāśura. Probably this aspect might have attracted the rulers and they started giving them due importance. Another point to be noted is, that, these shrines were mostly found near their centres of political power. Both these points, that is, their war like qualities and a prominent place in the capitals of minor principalities may throw much light on the socio-economic aspect of Kerala history. The hypothesis is that, the elevation of the status of *Saptamātrkā* emphasising on their war like qualities during the ascendancy of the mutually fighting principalities and the location of this newly evolved worship pattern of *Saptamātrkā* could be linked together against the background of political ideology.

Iconic representations of *Mātrkā*s are found all over India in association with a child,¹¹ the case is different in Kerala, where she is represented in her terrific aspect with the weapons like sword-shield, Trident-Ankush etc. The human form of *Saptamātrkā* installed in the *Garbhagrha* of the temple, can be seen only during the reign of minor principalities. Before and after that she was considered as *Parivāradevatā* and were installed in the *Antaramaṇḍala* of the temple. Generally people worship a deity according to their necessity. The petty chieftains, who had always war with each other needed energy to fight. *Saptamātrkā* were supposed to be the energies or *Śaktis* of all gods. Hence they thought of worshipping them by constructing separate shrines in their capitals.

10 *Ibid.* p. 21.

11 Padmaja, V. T., *Op. cit.*, pp. 224-231.

Saptamātrkā images were installed in the rectangular shrines in Kerala. Probably it may be due to the convenience to install all the nine images (seven mothers and the guardian deities Virabhadra and Gaṇeśa). Generally rectangular shrines were seen either to install *Anantaśayāna* image of Viṣṇu or *Saptamātrkā*. These rectangular shrines were not recent innovation in Kerala, such shrines were seen throughout the west coast. Probably the rectangular plan of Tulunadu and Kerala may be the architectural tradition of Gujarat where it dates back to Maitraka period.¹²

Generally in Kerala, *Devī* shrines were called *Kāvu*. Though some of the *Saptamātrkā* shrines were called *kāvus*, they were constructed with the characteristics of typical Kerala temples i.e. *Pañcaprakara* form.¹³ This must be because of the royal patronage. Here one important thing to be noted is, that, besides the main human form of *Saptamātrkā* installed in the *Garbhagrha*, the symbolic form of *Saptamātrkā* in the shape of nine cylindrical stones planted on an oblong slab is installed in the South-West corner of the *Antaramaṇḍala*, like other Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples. This clearly shows that they blindly followed the characteristic features of other temples while constructing *Saptamātrkā* temples.

Rituals performed in these temples were tantric. The *Pañcamakāra Pūjā*,¹⁴ an integral part of the orthodox Śakti worship is followed here. The existence of goat sacrifice,¹⁵ *Guruti tarpaṇa* and using of *Elaneer* (tender coconut) for *Pūjā* are the best examples of tantric worship. *Mūssatus* (disqualified Brahmins), *Pidarans* and *Ilayatus* performed daily rituals in these temples. On festive occasions *Nampūthiri* Brahmins perform the *Pūjā*. This clearly shows that there is a clear attempt to brahminise the ritual system by introducing agamic mode of worship.

During festive occasions, irrespective of caste and creed everybody can enter the temple. According to their strength and wealth, different communities

12 Nanavaty J. M. and Dhaky M. A., *Maitraka and Saindhava Temples of Gujarat*. (Ascona MC ML XIX), Figs. 13, 24b and 35.

13 The characteristic of Kerala temple consists of a *garbhagrha* with a conical *Śikhara*, crowned by a crest with five *Prakaras* (*Pañcaprakara*) viz. *antaramaṇḍala*, *antahāra*, *madhyahāra*, *bāhyāhāra* and *maryāda*. For details see N. P. Unni, *Tantrapaddhati—A Study*, Bhāratīya Vidyā Prakāśan, Delhi, 1987, p. 6.

14 *Pañcamakāra Pūjā* is a *pūjā* performed by using five 'ma's i.e. *madya*, *māmsa*, *matsya*, *maithuna* and *mudrā*.

15 *Palace Manuscripts of the Zamorins of Calicut*, Grantha No. 10, M. No. 179-181, refers to an argument regarding goat sacrifice.

offer different objects to the goddess. One can see a collective participation of the village people on such occasion. In this type of temple, like other temples of Kerala, discussions on common concern like annual appointment of office bearers, the celebration of annual festival etc. were carried out and decisions were taken accordingly. Even the offences of the people were settled on such occasions and they were given punishments.¹⁶

A study of the place-names of the centres, clearly shows that they were not only religious but also commercial centres. Nomenclature of the very name *Angādippuram* itself suggests that it is an important commercial centre. *Valayenatu* mentioned in the Zamorins manuscripts as *Valayanatu Nagaram* seems to be an administrative unit of commercial group.¹⁷

There are much evidences to establish that the origin of *Saptamātrkā* worship is essentially non-brahmanical. Firstly, the traditional origin of the *Mātrkā* as reflected in the Purāṇic myth is clearly an attempt to incorporate these deities into Brahmanical Pantheon. By analysing the Epic and Purāṇic myths we can come to the conclusion that originally they were a group of analogous goddesses of cruel, demoniacal aspects outside Brahmanical tradition. As soon as they were incorporated within the Brahmanical fold their number was fixed and specific names were given to them. Secondly, peculiarity of the rituals performed in these temples characterised by tantric and mantric rites, accompanied by the offering of blood, also shows the non-brahmanical character. The Brahmanical influence was so dominant that gradually this was replaced by the symbols, like the cutting of Pumpkin, breaking of coconut etc. *Guruti*¹⁸ is an important offering, which clearly indicates the purified form of blood shed.

From the above analysis it is clear that during the ascendancy of the mutually fighting principalities, *Saptamātrkā* gained more status and separate temples were constructed for them in their capitals, probably due to the political situation which affected the society of Kerala. All these centres were not only religious centres but also commercial and administrative centres. At least some of them were centres of ordeals thereby implying their status as seats of Judicial functions. Once the idea of protection to royal households and chieftaincies is established in the *Saptamātrkā* worship it can be extended to other spheres such as the commercial groups and other functionaries in the society leading to the proliferation of the cult itself. This probably explains the spread of *Saptamātrkā* worship in all temples of Kerala in a symbolic form.

16 *Ibid.*, Grantha No. 69, Manuscript No. 1-3 mentions about the *Viralmukku Chatangulak* or ordeal of dipping finger in the ghee in order to prove the offence.

17 Nambuthiri, N. M., "A Study of Place Names in the Calicut District", A Thesis submitted to the University of Calicut, 1988, p. 384.

18 Mixture of red turmeric and *cunam* or lime representing blood.

શ્રી સયાજી સાહિત્યમાળા

શ. પૈ.

૩૪૦	ગુજરાત સ્થળનામ સંસદ વ્યાખ્યાનમાલા, ભાગ ૨ (૧૯૬૫)	૬=૦૦
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૩૫૧	ગુજરાતનો પોટરી ઉદ્યોગ—શ્રી. શાંતિલાલ પી. પુરોહિત (૧૯૭૫)	૮=૭૫
૩૫૨	ઊંડાણનો તાગ—શ્રી છોટુભાઈ સુધાર (૧૯૭૫)	૧૫=૦૦
૩૫૩	ભારતીય વીણા—(સ્વ.) પ્રો. રસિકલાલ એમ. પંજા (૧૯૭૮)	૩૧=૦૦
૩૫૪	ચરકનો સ્વાધ્યાય, ભાગ ૨—(સ્વ.) ડૉ. બાપાલાલ ગ. વૈદ્ય (૧૯૭૯)	૯૬=૦૦
૩૫૫	ચાંપાનેર : એક અધ્યયન—(સ્વ.) ડૉ. રમણલાલ ના. મહેતા (૧૯૮૦)	૩૬=૦૦
૩૫૬	દ્વારકાના પ્રદેશનો સાંસ્કૃતિક ઇતિહાસ—(સ્વ.) શ્રી ક. ન. જોષી	૪૪=૦૦
૩૫૭	આધુનિક ગુજરાતના સંતો, ભાગ ૨—ડૉ. કેશવલાલ ઠક્કર (૧૯૭૯)	૪૫=૦૦
૩૫૮	સૂર્યશક્તિ—શ્રી. પદ્મકાન્ત ર. શાહ (૧૯૮૧)	૫૨=૫૦
૩૫૯	કવિ ગિરધર : જીવન અને કવન—ડૉ. દેવદત્ત જોશી	૫૧=૦૦
૩૬૦	વનોપધિકોશ—પ્રો. કે. કા. શાસ્ત્રી	૩૫=૭૫
૩૬૧	સહસ્રલિંગ અને રુદ્રમહાલય—(સ્વ.) શ્રી કનૈયાલાલ ભા. દવે	૭૯=૦૦
૩૬૨	વૈષ્ણવતીર્થ ડાકોર—(સ્વ.) ડૉ. મંજુલાલ ર. મજમુદાર	૪૮=૦૦
૩૬૧	વૃદ્ધત્રયી અને લઘુત્રયી—(સ્વ.) ડૉ. બાપાલાલ ગ. વૈદ્ય	૩૩=૦૦
૩૬૩	વડોદરા એક અધ્યયન—(સ્વ.) ડૉ. આર. એન. મહેતા	૪૪=૦૦
૩૬૪	મહારાજ સયાજીરાવ ત્રીજા—(સ્વ.) પ્રો. હસિત ખૂચ	૪૯=૦૦
૩૬૫	નાભાજીકૃત ભક્તમાલના ઐતિહાસિક ભક્તો—એક અધ્યયન— શ્રી મૂળશંકર હિ. કેવલીયા	૪૪=૦૦
૩૬૬	લેસર—શ્રી. પદ્મકાન્ત ર. શાહ	૪૮=૦૦
૩૬૮	અર્વાચીન સંસ્કૃત સાહિત્યનો ઇતિહાસ—(અનુ.) એ. જે. રાવલ અને વી. એસ. લેલે	૧૮૮=૦૦
૩૬૯	મંજૂલ વિમર્શ—શ્રી જે. પી. કાકર	૨૩૬=૦૦
૩૭૦	પ્રાણવહસોતોના રોગો : શ્વાસ-દમ—વૈદ્ય મણિભાઈ બ્રહ્મભટ્ટ	૧૭૬=૦૦
૩૭૧	વડોદરાનાં મંદિરો—કુ. મંજુલા એમ. સોની	૬૮=૦૦
૩૭૭	આહારવિજ્ઞાન—(પુનઃ મુદ્રણ) ડૉ. જયશંકર ધ. પાઠક અને (સ્વ.) અનંતરાય મ. રાવળ (૧૯૯૧)	૬૦=૦૦
૩૭૨	લોકનાટ્ય ભવાઈ : સ્વરૂપ—ડૉ. કૃષ્ણકાન્ત કડકિયા	૧૯૩=૦૦
૩૭૩	શ્રીમદ્ ઉપેન્દ્રાચાર્યજી—ડૉ. લવકુમાર દેસાઈ	૧૯૫=૦૦

પ્રાપ્તિસ્થાન : યુનિવર્સિટી પુસ્તકવેચાણ વિભાગ,

જનરલ એજ્યુકેશન સેન્ટર, મતાપમંજ, વડોદરા-૩૬૦ ૦૦૨,

ABSTRACT GENESIS OF JAGANNATHA CULT IN SĀRALĀ
MAHĀBHĀRATA

(A Study of Myth as Reality)

By

BABA MISHRA*

Since long, there has been controversy concerning the myth and tradition in *Sāralā Mahābhārata* (Oriya rendering of *Mahābhārata*) of 15th Century Orissa. One school of thought, represented by the established Indologists, wind up the myth and legend pertaining to Jagannatha Cult as mere hallucination and fantasy of the poet. Whereas, another school, to which belong the professional literary critics, seems to over write the very alphabet of the tradition narrated by the poet, as truism of fact.

Keeping these elements in mind, a modest attempt has been made in this paper to make a critical assessment of the myth, tradition and legends. It is heartening to note that the basic concept dealt hitherto by the savants of Indology relating to the genesis of Jagannatha Cult and the inner notion of the fable and tradition referred in *Sāralā-Mahābhārata*, are much in common.

The original Śabari Nārāyaṇa effigy later on changed into ' Log ' out of which three images were carved and the formation of the Jagannatha Triad took place under the personal care of Indradyūmna of *Sāralā Mahābhārata*, has been critically examined in the light of Historical, Archaeological and Socio-Anthropological data. This article aims at justifying the tradition as historical fact, though presented by the poet in distorted manner.

Epic and Mythology are a compendium of History, Philosophy and Science, Very often, it is misinterpreted because of its antediluvian technique of presentation¹. Today, the modern physicist relies on Mathematical equations and other cyclopean gadget to exemplify scientific concept, because the current idiom is not sufficient to present a scientific concept. So also, the Epic and Mythological traditions, whether of Hindus, Egyptians, or Central-Americans, invariably cognate essential truth in fairy-tale and parable, in myth and tradition,

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1. James Wallace—Brahman-E = MC² (*Science & the Mystical-Secrets of the Universe*) p-6, 7, 1985-Bombay.

in order to present the concept in an easy manner. But examined of its fairytale, myth or tradition in an unbiased manner, it would vouch with the concept that matches the discoveries of modern science².

This is true in case of *Sāralā Mahābhārata* of 15th Century Orissa. It appends in deed, data pertaining to the genesis of Lord Jagannatha and His cult in the shape of socio-anthropological narration and history and archaeology, under the garb of anecdotes and tradition. Some typical myth-cycles and traditions have been adumbrated by the poet in a distorted manner pertaining to the inception of Lord Jagannatha and the cult in his *Mahābhārata*. In the cantos, like *Vanaparva*³, *Musaliparva*⁴ and *Swargārohaṇaparva*⁵, he delineates myth and tradition relating to the origin of Lord Jagannatha. In the *Musaliparva*,⁶ the myth cycle of Sabarī Nārāyaṇa worship sums thus —

“ Lord Kṛṣṇa died owing to the poisonous arrow shot by Jarā Śabara. At the time of the lighting of funeral pyre of Śrīkṛṣṇa, Jarāśabara narrates before Arjuna, the worship of Śabarī-Nārāyaṇa by his fore-father beneath the ‘Ekāgra Tree’. The stone or effigy representing Sabarī Nārāyaṇa was, however, shifted to Hell by the God of death (Yama) at the behest of Lord Śiva. But later on, however, Yama returned Śabarī Nārāyaṇa to its original place of worship, it being the sure means of salvation for the sinners in the Hell.

At the time of the cremation of the dead body of Kṛṣṇa, his ‘Heart’ portion of the mortal remains defied fire. A divine voice commended Arjuna to throw out the relic into the ocean. Arjuna did so. Nevertheless, the lamenting Jarā Śabara however, rescued the relic from the sea-wave and preserved it. He thus began the worship of the relic Sabarī Nārāyaṇa, sometimes also called as Mādhava or Nilamādhava and handed over the legacy to his descendants ”.

In the tradition, the worship of Śabarī Nārāyaṇa and the rescue and veneration of the relic of deceased Kṛṣṇa bespeak different setting. But the poet covertly identifies the two as one. ‘Deola-Tolā’ (Temple Construction) an Oriya ballad (16th Century A.D.) embodies the same story with a slight variation. According to the ballad, the relic of Lord Kṛṣṇa, rescued by Jarā Śabara from the Sea-wave near Eastern Coast, turned into a ‘Blue-Stone’ by a miracle.⁷

2. *Ibid.*

3. Mohanty A. B. (Ed.) *Sāralā Mahābhārata, Vanaparva* (Oriya) p-15, 1967, Cuttack.

4. *Ibid, Musaliparva*, p-29, 62, 79-104, 117.

5. *Ibid, Swargārohaṇaparva*, p-40-45.

6. *Ibid, Musaliparva*, p. 29-62.

7. Mansingh, M. *Saga of the Land of Jagannatha*, p. 79, 1962, Cuttack.

The legend of Śabarī Nārāyaṇa worship, described by poet Sārālā Das, is at once reminiscent of the tradition of Śabarī Nārāyaṇa worship in upper Mahanadi valley. Today, there exists Śeūrī Nārāyaṇa Centre of worship on the upstream of Mahanadi river, about 3 miles of the confluence of - Mahanadi and Jonk river.⁸ On the other hand, unlike the Śeūrī Nārāyaṇa centre of upper Mahanadi or South-Kosala, Śabarī Nārāyaṇa centre or any archaeological remains pertaining to it, in lower Mahanadi valley is conspicuous by its absence. Nevertheless, it does not mean that poet Sārālā Das was inspired or actually describes, the Śabarī Nārāyaṇa (Śeūrī Nārāyaṇa) worship tradition of South-Kosala. Because, the legend relating to the Śabarī Nārāyaṇa worship of South-Kosala and the story of Śabarī Nārāyaṇa worship narrated by the poet differs considerably from one another.⁹

However, it is apparent that a partly Hinduized creed-Śabarī Nārāyaṇa, was prevailing both in upper and lower-Mahanadi valley in the bygone days. As Śabarī Nārāyaṇa worship is under the garb of myth and legend and direct corroborative archaeological or historical data are lacking, we are inclined to make a critical analysis of the myth and draw analogy from other archaeological and more reliable historical sources to justify the myth as reality. The myth at the first glance, conveys it's time-scale, it's remoteness, though found explicit description during the 15th/16th Century A.D. It is also a clear deviation from original Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*. It, therefore, appears that the tradition was prevailing among the people of Orissa, which the poet picked and embellished in his Oriya rendering of *Mahābhārata*. To justify the myth as historical fact, two vexed questions come to the fore-front like-whether Vaiṣṇava-Bhāgavata religion was prevailing in remote past of Orissa? Was there any other analogue elsewhere to the veneration of Vaiṣṇava-Bhāgavata divinity in the shape of stone or any other material object before the development of anthropomorphism of deities?

There are prima-facie evidences to prove that Viṣṇuism had its access to ancient Orissa atleast since 1st Century A.D.¹⁰ The Vaiṣṇava creed had already penetrated into Western Deccan as early as 1st Century B.C.¹¹ The creed spread

8 Singhdeo, J. P. *Cultural Profile of South Kosala*, p. 303, 304, 1987, Delhi

9 According to Seūrī Nārāyaṇa alias Sabarī Nārāyaṇa tradition, Sabari worshipped Rāma with ripe fruits. So the image of Nārāyaṇa being associated with the name Sabarī has been worshipped there and the place has been known by the same name where as Poet Sārālā Das associated the relic of Lord Kṛṣṇa with Nārāyaṇa which was worshipped by the Sabara.

10 *Orissa History Congress Proceedings Annual Session x-xx*, p. 60, 1979.

11 *Ibid.*

to Kṛṣṇa Valley in South-Western Andhra by the 2nd Century A.D.¹² Kalinga had inter-state relation with these territories of Deccan in course of the war and aggrandisement of Khāravela. Hāthigumphā inscription further reveals that Khāravela, though a Jaina, patronised the followers of all faiths and repaired the places of worship of all Brāhmaṇical Gods.¹³

The bright illustration regarding the spread of Vaiṣṇava faith in ancient Orissa is furnished by *Viṣṇu-dharmottara*-MS (200-300 A.D.)¹⁴. It, while describing the main centres of Kṛṣṇa worship in India, points out that Lord Kṛṣṇa was worshipped as Puruṣottama in Oḍḍa country¹⁵. It becomes conspicuous, therefore, that Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata creed flourished in ancient Orissa. Epigraphic records¹⁶ of succeeding centuries (5th Century A.D.) also betoken the prevalence of Vaiṣṇava-Bhāgavata religion in Orissa.

As regards the second issue of the myth cited formerly, it is clear that the idea of anthropomorphism of deity appeared late in Orissa. An alternative is thus feasible at this stage, that the God was worshipped either in the shape of stone or wood (Log). The representation of Bhāgavata divinities by stone is well known in India atleast since the pre-Christian period. The Ghosunḍi inscription¹⁷ refers to Nārāyaṇa-Vāṭikā for the divinities Saṅkarsaṇa and Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa). It is suggested that *Vāṭikā* (Enclosing Wall) of the objects of worship accommodate two stone pieces (Sālagrāma-representing the deities). In this sphere, moreover, the early process of *Pañcāyatana Pūjā* is worth-noting. The chief cult object in it was aniconic in form. Monier William¹⁸ avers the process, where five stones or Five chief deities stand for stone-thus (i) Black

12. Jaiswal, S. *Origin and Development of Vaiṣṇavism* p. 179, 1967.

13. Das, M. N. *Side lights on History and Culture of Orissa*, p. 371, 1977, Cuttack.

14. *Viṣṇudharmottara*-MS. No 1670, A.S.B.

15. *Ibid*, also, R. C. Hazara-*Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, p-142-143, Vol.-I, 1958.

16. The Nala dynasty of South-Kosala and the Mātharas of Kalinga patronised Vaiṣṇava-Bhāgavata religion in their respective territories. Podāgaḍ stone inscription of the Nala King Skandavarman reveals that king enshrined the foot-print of Viṣṇu. In the same inscription prayer is also offered to Vāsudeva (See E.I.-Vol-XXI, p-1-3) The Nigondi C. P. Chicocola C. P. and Bobill Charter of the Māthara dynasty of Kalinga also vouches the support to Vaiṣṇavism by the Mātharas (E.I.-Vol.-XXX, p-117-118, Vol.-XIII, p-49, Vol.-XVIII, p-33-36)

17. Chattopadhyaya Bhaskara-*Coins and Icons-A study of Myth and symbols in Indian Numismatic Art*, p.-3, 1977, Calcutta.

18. *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol., IV, p-332.

stone represents Viṣṇu, (ii) Red stone stands for Gaṇeśh, (iii) White stone represents Śiva, (iv) The small piece of metallic ore represents Pārvatī (Devī), (v) The piece of crystal represents sun. As Black stone stands for Viṣṇu, it appears to be a 'Sālagrāma' which is highly prized in the worship of Viṣṇu.¹⁹

The Nārāyaṇa *Vāṇikā* and the early process of *Pañcāyatana Pūjā* are bright testimony of the fact that before the development of anthropomorphism of deities, ascription of aniconic shape of stone to Bhāgavata divinity was *modus operandi*. Not only in Brahmanical religion, but in tribal belief also, attribution of stone, wood and heap of earth to pantheon was more conspicuous.²⁰ The myth-cycle, therefore, depicted by the poet in his '*Mahābhārata*' is indeed a reality. The stone representing Sabarī Nārāyaṇa was Black/Blue. So, the belief of Nīlamādhava sprang up in Orissa when the Mādhava creed gained popularity during the 7th Century A.D. . . It appears, therefore, that the icon of Lord Jagannatha today retains its original colour-'Black'.

Moreover, the most bewildering feature of the *Navakalevara*—Ceremony of Lord Jagannatha—the shifting of some obscure object from the old icon to new image (*Brahma Padārtha*) is note-worthy. All relevant information indicates, that the '*Brahma Padārtha*' was nothing but the '*Sālagrāma-Śilā*'²¹ originally worshipped as Śabarī Nārāyaṇa.

After the deification of Lord Kṛṣṇa, his worship began in large scale in India. The creed might have infiltrated into the tribal hinter land through the process of Brahmanization.

Nevertheless, poet Sārālā Das thrives to identify the mortal remains of Lord Kṛṣṇa with Śabarī Nārāyaṇa. The very concept, atleast reminds us, of the parable of tooth-relic of Lord Buddha which was prevailing in Orissa in ancient period.²²

19 Kane P. V.,—*History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol.-V, Part-II, p-715.

20 *Man in India*—Vol.-74, No. 4, p.-435, 436, 1994.

21 Esmann A., Kulke & Tripathy—*The cult of Jagannatha and Regional Tradition of Orissa*, p.-260, 261, f.n. 108, 1986, Delhi.

22 The original story of the tooth-relic as recorded in the *Mahāvamśa* and *Dāthāvamśa* (*Daldāvamśa*) goes that Khema one of the disciples of Lord Buddha recovered the tooth-relic from the funeral pyre of the Lord. He handed it over to Brahmadatta, the king of Kaliṅga. The king erected a magnificent temple over it at Dantapura and handed over the legacy to his successors. The tooth-relic was worshipped in Kaliṅga until it was shifted to Ceylon during the reign of king Gūhaśive (For detail—R. L. Mitra—*Antiquities of Orissa*-Vol II, p-176-179).

The worship of Śabarī Nārāyaṇa alias Kṛṣṇa/Mādhava was one aspect of the genesis of Lord Jagannatha and His Cult. The next phase of the evolution of the cult the poet, avers in the famous 'Indradyūmna Tradition' and the parable of 'Gūmukhi-Keśava'.

The poet incorporates the later parable within the former tradition. The tradition²³ goes that:—

King Indradyūmna constructed a temple on the mount of Nīlasundara and desired to install the deity Śabarī Nārāyaṇa alias Nīlamādhava. Thus the king performed penance before Yameśvara to know the where-about of the deity. Yameśvara being pleased, advised the king to ask Mārkaṇḍa Brahmā. The latter advised Indradyūmna to make query to Jarā Śabara. Indradyūmna traced Jarā Śabara near 'Go-Śāgara Tīrtha' and established friendship with him. Jarā Śabara narrated to Indradyūmna the story of Gūmukhi-Keśava (The presiding deity of Śabarī Nārāyaṇa centre of worship). That Bhairava killed cow Nandinī, which act of Bhairava was satirised by Kṛṣṇa-Keśava. Bhairava became furious and severed the head of Kṛṣṇa-Keśava and affixed the head of Nandinī cow on the shoulder of Keśava. Consequently the Gūmukhi-Keśava emanated as the Ugra (Terrible) aspect of Kṛṣṇa-Keśava alias Nārāyaṇa. At that time, a demon, known as Sāgarāsura, descendant of Vajrasimha became a menace for the world. On the behest of Brahma, Gūmukhi-Keśava tore-off Sāgarāsura and killed him (as Narasimha did in case of Hiraṇya Kaśipu).

The worship of the tooth-relic of Lord Buddha and the worship of the relic of Lord Kṛṣṇa as described by poet Sārālā Das bears parallel. It seems that the later belief was the echo of the former Buddhist tradition.

"Indradyūmna, having heard the story of Gūmukhi-Keśava, took his bath in the ocean and beheld Gūmukhi-Keśava. The king requested Jarā Śabara to let him share the worship of Śabarī Nārāyaṇa by installing the deity in the constructed shrine of Nīlakandara. Jarā Śabara prayed to the deity to seek his approval for consecration. The deity appeared before Jarā and revealed to him that he would appear in the Rohiṇī-Koṇḍa. King Indradyūmna and Jarā proceeded to Rohiṇī-Koṇḍa and there to their dismay, the relic of Lord Kṛṣṇa/Śabarī Nārāyaṇa appeared in the shape of a log of Chandana Tree.

The soldiers of the king could not lift out the 'log' from Rohiṇī-Koṇḍa. On the command of a Divine voice, the Brāhmaṇa priest Vāsu and Jāra caught hold of the 'Log' and pulled it out of the Koṇḍa. Thereafter, the divine carpenter Viśwakarmā appeared in disguise of an old carpenter and carved three images out of the 'Log'.

23 Mohanty A. B., (Ed.), *Op. cit.-Musaliparva*—p-79-105, 117.

Several considerations come to the fore-front while making a critical assessment of the Indradyūma-Tradition. Though the central theme of the tradition was borrowed from the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmya* of *Brahma Purāṇa*²⁴ and *Skanda Purāṇa*,²⁵ yet the poet displays his ingenuousness in describing the tradition. The tradition, according to the poet, portrays the next phase of the genesis of Jagannatha-Cult. The salient features of the tradition are as follows:—

(i) The compromise between the Aryan and non-Aryan, which was a mile-stone in the evolution of Jagannatha Cult.

(ii) The change of the original object of worship. The original Śabarī Nārāyaṇa alias Relic of Lord Kṛṣṇa (Representing Black stone) was substituted by Log, out of which three images were carved.

(iii) Royal patronage to the cult in its formative phase.

(iv) Shift of the cult from tribal hinterland to Brahmanical threshold.

Intensive Hinduization or 'Indoctrinization' of the tribal nucleus regions of Orissa, gave rise to the Cult of Jagannatha.²⁶ It also vouches the compromise that was made between the Vedic and non-Vedic culture at regional level.

The poet in the said tradition, moreover sheds a glimpse which was the real *raisin-de-etra* of the expulsion of original stone of Śabarī Nārāyaṇa and the introduction of ' Log ' or ' Wood ', Intuitive observer may unearth the fact that the parable of Kumūkhi-Keśava was the central theme of Indradyūma tradition. The story of Gumūkhi-Keśava was typical and a clear deviation. The inner idea of the fable was the concept of Narasimha.²⁷ To the poet, Gumūkhi Keśava was the furious (*Ugra*) aspect of Kṛṣṇa/Keśava²⁸ alias Viṣṇu like Narasimha. Similarly in the said parable Bhairava appears as the *Ugra* aspect of Lord Śiva. Ultimately, however, the poet identifies the two as one, when he narrates the emergence of Asta-Sambhū²⁹ from the broken tail of Gumūkhi-Keśava. The idea is a covert repercussion of the concept of Narasimha who plays most vital role in the cult of Jagannatha.³⁰ From iconographical and iconological point of

24 *Puruṣottama-Māhātmya* of *Brahma Purāṇa*, p. 16, 42, 84, 1907, Bombay

25 *Puruṣottama Māhātmya* of *Skanda Purāṇa*, p. 22, 10, 48, 50 1910, Bombay.

26 Esmann A., Kulke & Tripathy—*Op. cit.*, p-61-99.

27 For detail of Narasimha creed See—D. C. Sircar—" *Narasimha Cult*,"—*Dr. Satkari-Mukherjee Felicitation*, Vol.-LXIX, 1969, 43-50. Also, S. Jaiswal—"Cyncretism of the doctrine of incarnation". *Dr. Satkari Mukherjee Felicitation*, Vol.-LXIX, p.-410, 1969.

28 Mohanty A. B., (Ed.) *Op. cit.*, *Musaliparva*, p-107.

29 *Ibid.*

30 Eschmann A., Kulke & Tripathy—*Op. cit.*-p.-169-173.

Narasimha (Man Lion) was the Ugra aspect of Lord Viṣṇu-Puruṣottama. In the earliest epigraphic record pertaining to the identification of God Narasimha with Puruṣottama-Viṣṇu is gleaned from the Sirpur stone inscription of queen mother Vātasā of Paṇḍuvaṃsi dynasty (S. N. Rajguru—*Inscription of Orissa*, Vol.-IV, p. 69).

Poet Sārālā Das does not refer the story of Narasimha directly. But he creates another parable story of Gumūkhi-Keśava. The very idea and exploit of Gumūkhi-Keśava and the concept of Narasimha are much in common view, it is Bhairava and Narasimha model of Hinduization³¹ which became a harbinger of Jagannatha Cult and icons. The association of the two aspects of Viṣṇu and Śiva with wooden pillar/log is well-known in Indian culture.³² It seems, therefore, that the creation of the parable of Gumūkhi Keśava by the poet, as the central theme of Indradyūmna story was meant to present the idea of Narasimha/Bhairava and thereby to justify the substitution of stone by wood/log. The substitution of wood in place of stone also suits the Brahmanical religion and tribal culture.

The myth-cycles of Sārālā *Mahābhārata* reveal that Śābarī Nārāyaṇa appeared in the shape of log/wood for the sake of king Indradyūmna, out of which three images were carved. The carving of three deities certainly negates the one deity tradition as Śābarī Nārāyaṇa alias Kṛṣṇa-Puruṣottama worship betokens. It thus, indirectly indicates some ulterior motive of king Indradyūmna and Jarā Śābara of the myth. The proper identification of king Indradyūmna would explain the motive of the carving of three images out of a log.

Scholars like R. Geib³³ identify him as one of the later Gupta monarch whereas, K. N. Mohapatra³⁴ and S. N. Rajguru³⁵ identify him as Khāravēla and Indravarman. The identifications have their respective rational arguments. But their identifications do not explain satisfactorily the most perplexing issues, like the substitution of wood in place of stone and the shaping of three icons instead of one, as the original version of Śābarī Nārāyaṇa percolates in Indradyūmna Tradition.

31 *Ibid.*

32 *Ibid.*

33 *Ibid.*

34 Mahapatra K. N.,—"Historicity of Indradyūmna legend (Oriya)" *Bhañja Pradipa* (Oriya) No. 1342-934, Asvina.

35 Rajguru S. N.,—"Kimbādantī-O-Itihāsikatā, Śābara Srikṣetra" (Oriya) (Ed.) K. Sahu, p.-88-97, 1988, Koraput.

There is no king in historical record with the name Indradyūma in ancient or medieval India. It appears, therefore, that Indradyūma was a title bestowed on the king who extended royal patronage to the cult in its early phase of evolution.³⁶ As pointed out already, Indradyūma tradition moreover, first received glowing tribute in the Purāṇa especially *Puruṣottama Māhātmya* of *Skandapurāṇa* and *Brahma Purāṇa*. The date of *Puruṣottama Māhātmya* composed by some anonymous writer cannot be fixed before 12th Century A.D.³⁷ But the tradition might have been in vogue in folk-tale before its literary annotation. It is also likely that the said tradition came into existence after the formation of Jagannatha Triad. Divergent theories³⁸ have been propounded since long pertaining to the formation of Jagannatha Triad. But it seems that 10th Century A.D. was the *terminous-antequam* of the formation of the Triad.³⁹ The period exactly synchronizes the beginning of Somavāmśī rule over Oḍḍa country.⁴⁰ In this sphere, *Mādalāpāñji*⁴¹ (Temple chronicle of Lord Jagannatha) refers to the restoration of the Cult by Jayātikeśari of Soma Dynasty, when the latter subjugated Oḍḍa.

36 Mishra K. C. *Cult of Jagannath*-p -

37 Mishra B.— *Medieval Orissa and Cult of Jagannatha* p-70, 1995, New Delhi.

38 *Ibid*, p.-61.

39 Scholars like K. C. Mishra, P. Mukherjee, H. Kulke and others postulate Bhauma-Kara rule (736-950 A.D.), 5th Century A.D and 13th Century A.D. as the period of the formation of Jagannatha Triad.

40 *Ibid*, p.-61-62.

41 According to *Mādalāpāñji* (Temple Chronicle) after the conquest of Utkala in his 11th Aṅka, he (Jayātikeśari) asked the Sanyāsis and Brāhmaṇas about the presence of Puruṣottama-Jagannatha, the tutelary deity of Orissa. He came to know that Jagannātha was taken to a secret place in Western Orissa 146 years before him (Jayāti-Keśari) at the time of Mughal incursion. Forthwith, Jayati embarked an expedition towards Sonepur (Western-Orissa). He found the images beneath a Banyan tree in the village Gotali. But the deities were so badly disfigured that their renewal was felt imperative. The sacred renewal (*Navakalevara*) of the wooden images could only be made by the Daitas and the Patīs who had fled towards Western Orissa at the time of Raktavahu invasion. Yayāti found out the Daita priests at Virbandh and the Pati priests at Ratanpur of Western Orissa and eastern Madhya Pradesh. These priests prepared new images. Yayāti constructed a temple measuring-38 cubic or hand at Saṅkhakṣetra (Puri) and installed the deities.

K. C. Panigrahi⁴² rightly identifies Jayāṭikeśari of Mādālāpāñjī with Jayāti-I. of Somavamsi dynasty of South-Kosala (Sambalpur, Sonepur, Raipur and Bilaspur). According to Mādālāpāñjī, moreover, Jayāṭikeśari first initiated the unique *Navakalevara* ceremony at the time of the renewal of the cult. The comparative evidences, thus, undoubtedly point out Jayāṭikeśari as the traditional Indradyūnna. This identification would also unravel the issues cited formerly like the expulsion of stone in place of wood and the carving of three images instead of one.

Jayāti-I. of Soma dynasty hailed from Western Orissa (Part of South Kosala). His homeland Western Orissa was the abode of the tribals. Post-worship had been *modus operandi* as it is today among the Konds, Gonds and Śābara tribes of Western Orissa⁴³.

Field study reveals that the gender of the post differs. Some time it was reckoned as male and also female⁴⁴. In addition, the unique ceremony like *Navakalevara* is present among the Kondh tribes in an archaic manner.⁴⁵ At the time of Brahmanization, the post worshipped by the tribes came within the orbit of Vedic culture. It was the model of Staṃbeśvarī, Narasimha/Bhairava of Śākta, Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva denomination which played the most vital role in the process of Brahmanization.⁴⁶ These elements were active in the western part of modern Orissa ranging from 5th Century A.D. to 9th Century A.D.⁴⁷ Moreover, the link between Puruṣottama-Viṣṇu with Narasimha and the juxta-position of Viṣṇu and Śiva on a common platform (*Vedi*) was present in the hilly tracts of western Orissa around 906 A.D.⁴⁸ When Jayāti-I. subjugated Oḍḍa (Coastal Orissa or Utkal) it was natural for him to transplant the creeds of his homeland on the conquered territory.

As pointed out by H. Kulke⁴⁹ —

“The victorious king was free to select for his royal patronage one or several out of the existing autochthonous cult. Generally his preference was not only according to political expediency but also his personal and dynastic religious traditions.”

42 K. C. Panigrahi identifies traditional Yayāti Kaśari with Yayāti-I. The view of Panigrahi has been endorsed by A. Eschmann and others (Ed.) *Op. cit.*, p. 64-141.

43 *Man in India*-p. 435, Vol-74, No. 4, 1994.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 436.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 437.

46 Eschmann, A. and others (Ed.) *Op. cit.*, p. 61-99, 169-173.

47 *Ibid.*

48 *Ibid.* p. 10

49 *Ibid.* p. 143

As the conqueror was a powerful monarch, he required legitimation by joining the creeds of his home land with the religious belief of newly acquired territory. Jayāti-I therefore, combined the creed of wooden God Narasimha/Bhairava and Goddess Stambeswari of his home land with the existing Sabari Nārāyaṇa alias Puruṣottama of Oḍḍa/Utkala.⁵⁰

It thus necessitated the change of material object which resulted with the replacement of wood in place of stone. That Śabari Nārāyaṇa alias Puruṣottama-Jagannatha belongs to distinctive grade is indicative from the iconography of Lord Jagannatha when compared with icon of Balabhadra and Subhadrā.⁵¹ Iconologically also, the combination suited the psychology of the protagonist of Orthodox and Heterodox creeds. Consequently, it appears that the formation of Indradyūmna was bestowed on Jayāti-I of Soma dynasty. Moreover, late scholar Pandit Binayak Mishra⁵² draws our attention to another tradition prevailing in the royal family of Ranpur of Puri district. The annals of Ranapur Raj family⁵³ reveal that Indradyūmna of Paṇḍu dynasty took away the wooden God from Ekāmra-Bhubaneswar to Puri and Viswāvasu, the Śabara chieftain, presented Maṇināga for worship to the founder of the Ranapur Raj family. There was no king with the name Indradyūmna in the Paṇḍu dynasty identified with the Somavamsi dynasty of South Kosala. The anecdote again, divulges the identity of Indradyūmna as no other than Jayātikeśari or Jayati-I of Paṇḍu-vamśi alias Somavamsi dynasty of South-Kosala. The Indradyūmna legend alluded by poet Sārālā Das very well inculcated within its fold, historical truth in a distorted manner. The fable, however, in some way or other connects the cult of Jagannatha with Western Orissa. In this sphere again the poet portrays another socio-anthropological picture in the *Swargārohaṇa Parva*⁵⁴. The poet while depicting the visit of the Pāṇḍava brothers to various pilgrim centres in Orissa on their way to heaven, reveals the location of a land on the other side of Rudranadi in course of the Pāṇḍava's sojourn from Ekāmra towards western part.

The poet enumerates the socio-cultural trait of the land opposite to Rudranadi which the Pāṇḍava brothers desired to cross from the side of Ekāmra. The presiding deity of the land was Dākeśwari (Bhairavi elsewhere in the S.M.B.). The land was impure, because the people did not obey the caste-taboo nor the eating of the remains of food, after a part of it consumed by any other being.

⁵⁰ *Infra*, fn-14, 15, p. 5

⁵¹ Mishra B.—Op. cit., p-60.

⁵² Mishra Binayak—*Indian Culture and Cult of Jagannatha*, p. 382, Calcutta, 1986.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Mohanty (Ed.) *Op. cit.*, *Swargārohan Parva*, p.-40-4.

B. C. Majumdar⁵⁵ is the first scholar, hitherto known to have hinted at this story pertaining to the genesis of Jagannatha cult. The story was a clear deviation from Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*. We cannot say with any certainty that it was a mere imagination of the poet. It thus, appears to be purely a tribal land on the opposite of Rudranadī that rarely obeyed Brahmanical injunctions. But the identification of this territory poses difficulties. The chief characteristic of the poet's narration was the deliberate confusion made by the poet while narrating historical phenomenon through the use of corrupt terms of any name existed at that time.⁵⁶ There was no river known as Rudranadī in ancient or medieval Orissa. Rudranadī, therefore, may be identified with Mahanadi as the former name appears as the corruption of the later.

The description indicates that the Pāṇḍava brothers were marching westward after visiting Ekāmra (Bhubaneswar). They intended to cross Rudranadī or Mahanadi. On the opposite side of the river was laying a landmass having peculiar custom and usages. Consequently, the geographical proximity clearly tallies the land with western Orissa (South-Kosala).

Indeed, Western Orissa that formed the part and parcel of South Kosala, retains its rich tribal vestige. As cited formerly, the land, clad with dense forest and lofty mountains, was the abode of the tribals unpacified since time immemorial. The primary cult object of the land represents a iconic stone, wooden post or heap of soil,⁵⁷ having varied denominations like Dākeśwarī, Stambeśwarī, Bhairavī, Dharapī, Māilī and Pitābhāi etc. Caste distinction was conspicuous by its absence in their process of worship. There was also no such taboo of eating remnant of eating food.

Today, one may notice that the cult of Jagannatha has been singularly free from caste distinction. Nor was there any restriction of eating the food. (*Mahāprasāda*). It is partaken by the Brāhmaṇas and Chaṇḍāla alike. It should be eaten, the moment it is got without any discrimination of time, place or circumstance.⁵⁸ These distinguished elements of Jagannatha cult were certainly borrowed from tribal culture of western Orissa, when Jayāti-I (in our context Indradyūmna) imported the creed of Narasimha-Bhairava from his homeland Western Orissa to coastal region and incorporated with the prevailing Śabarī—Nārāyaṇa alias Nīlamādhava-Puruṣottama worship.

In retrospect, the myth and traditions, adumbrated by the peasant poet of 15th Century Orissa, was not a mere fantasy, but seems to be a Folk tale which was in vogue in Orissa. The above critical assessment, moreover, makes a startling revelation which matches well with the recent discoveries of Indologists relating to Lord Jagannatha and His Cult.

⁵⁵ Majumdar, B. C. *Orissa in the Making*, p. 210, Calcutta, 1984.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Infra*, f.n -20.

⁵⁸ Mitra R. L. — *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol.-II, p.-184.

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REVIEWS

"Idealistic Thought in Indian Philosophy" by DR. SUCHITA C. DIVATIA, D. K. Printworld (P) Ltd., New Delhi-15, 1994. Pages XIV+274, Price Rs. 295

The central theme of this book is that form of idealism which is well known as *Drṣṭi-srṣṭi-vāda*. The author of this book Dr. Suchita C. Divatia has done her research in Indian Philosophy under the famous Indologist and Sanskritist Dr. E. A. Solomon of Ahmedabad. Dr. Divatia traces the development of the idealistic thought from the Vedic times, going through the various stages, till it reaches its final acme, according to the author, in the *Drṣṭi-srṣṭi-vāda* of *Kevalādvaita Vedānta vis-a-vis* the *Srṣṭi-drṣṭi-vāda* of the same school. As Dr. Divatia holds the *Drṣṭi-srṣṭi-vāda*, is the culmination of idealism, reached and established by Prakāśānanda in his work *Vedānta-Siddhānta-Muktāvali* in the 16th century.

The author starts from the *Vāsadiya-sūktā* of *Rgveda*, which has idealistic trend but does not conclude in anything definite, as it expresses mystery regarding the nature of creation. The Upanisads, especially *Chāndogya* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* establish the Ultimate Reality of Brahman, and everything else as a fabrication of speech. It is an indirect rejection of the reality of the world. The Buddhist schools of *Sūnyavāda* and *Yogācāra* have further developed idealism, the former emphasizing the unreality of the phenomenal world on grounds of relativity, and inability of reason to assert anything positively or negatively, and the latter suggesting the law of simultaneous apprehension (*sahopālabhāniyama*) coming close to *Drṣṭi-srṣṭi-vāda*.

The Vedānta is influenced by these schools of Buddhism. The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* and *Gauḍapāda-kārikā* regard the world as unreal, being the projection of mind. *Yogavāsiṣṭha* for the first time uses the expression *drṣṭi-srṣṭi*. But it declares the world as created by the *avidyā* of the cosmic soul *Hiranyagarbha*. Both *Yogavāsiṣṭha* and *Kārikā* suggest the illusory character of the world by comparing it with dream. But there is no hint, according to the author, in the pre-Śāṅkara Vedānta condemning outright the objectivity of the empirical world.

Śāṅkara clearly accepts the objective reality of the empirical world, and refutes *Yogācāra* or *Vijñānavāda* idea of subjectivity. Śāṅkara distinguishes between the waking and the dreaming states of experience. He considers Brahman to be the material (*upādāna*) cause of the world. He thus favours *Srṣṭi-drṣṭi-vāda* as

against *Drṣṭi-srṣṭi vāda*. His position is better known as maintaining Transcendental idealism as well as empirical realism, very much in the style of Kant (not mentioned by the author). It may be suggested that transcendental idealism is the correct highest form of *Drṣṭi-srṣṭi-vāda*, developed later.

But after Śaṅkara the locus of *avidyā* became a point of debate. Most Advaitins like Vidyāranya regard Brahman as the locus, while Maṇḍan Miśra and Vācaspati Miśra regard the *jīva* as the locus. The later view paves the way towards *Drṣṭi-srṣṭi-vāda*. The problems regarding the common character of the world, many *jīvas*, or one *jīva* etc. remain to be discussed. The views on these have been summarised by Appaya Dīkṣita in his *Sidhānta-leśa-saṅgraha*.

Before Appaya Dīkṣita, however, Prakāśānanda has discussed the problematic points and logically established his view of *Drṣṭi-srṣṭi-vāda*.

According to this view, Brahman is the non-dual Ultimate Reality, thus holding fast to *Kevalādvaita*. But there is outright rejection of the empirical world. No *pramāṇa* can establish the difference between perception and the perceived. That is on the Berkeleyan lines of *esse est percipi*, *Drṣṭi* (or the mode of the individual *jīva's avidyā*) is identical with *srṣṭi*. Thus there is a thorough rejection of the unapprehended existence. Thus the world of appearance is fictitious or illustory.

According to this view Brahman imagines itself through *avidyā* as being *jīva* (not God), and then it imagines various bodies of gods, animals, human beings and even God. Bondage and liberation are imaginations. According to the author this philosophy like other philosophies attempts to solve the riddle of the universe in its own way, and therefore cannot be brushed aside simply because it appears absurd for the common man. As Appaya Dīkṣita claims, though this view is difficult to understand for a lay man, only one with a highly purified mind can follow it. As the author thinks, it is the culmination of Advaita, and it is wonderful to live in this complex world regarding it a huge dream.

I feel like making certain comments on this view. The author has a right on her own to favour this view of *Drṣṭi-srṣṭi-vāda* as she thinks it to be the logical culmination of idealism. One point of view which I have also held is that it is impossible to bifurcate perception or knowledge on the one hand and its object on the other. One must begin and end within the reality of knowledge only. The distinction between ontology and epistemology is not ontological but epistemological. All philosophical systems are primarily knowledge systems, even if they are about metaphysical subject matter. In fact, I hold that the realist decision that object is independent of knowledge, or the idealist decision that object is dependent on knowledge, are both theories of knowledge and hence both are initially idealist in nature. Thus the priority of idea over its object, or

that of epistemology over ontology or metaphysics is the obvious truth. But then how to verify the truth of any idea or system of knowledge or a philosophical view point ? I have suggested that knowledge is tested by means of value that it promotes or upholds. The knower is at once the source of his system of beliefs and values that he upholds. If all knowledge is not to be equally fictitious or false, on the one hand, it cannot be regarded as all equally true on the other hand. Then in the absence of any external factor deciding it to be true or false, the internal factor of our intuitive belief in the value system of good and bad, wholesome and unwholesome making for happiness rather unhappiness and so on, we can decide that system or view of philosophy to be true which promotes maximum values. This suggestion comes from the Advaitic conception of Reality as *sat-cit-ānanda* Brahma, *Sat*, the reality is determined by *cit* or knowledge (experience, consciousness, spirituality etc.), and knowledge is validated by its potency of promoting value or *ānanda* which is the internal criterion of the realization of a state of value. Such interpretation avoids the pitfalls of subjectivism relativism, scepticism, solipsism into which empiricist idealism must logically end. Berkeley brought God by the backdoor to avoid the evil consequences of *esse est percipi*. God cannot be proved on the basis of subjectivism at all. Dr. Divatia does not appear to have any acquaintance with Hume, who succeeded and followed Berkeley and brought his subjectivism to the logical end of scepticism. *Drṣṭi-srṣṭi-vāda* cannot have any other fate.

To believe in one breath in the eternal ultimate non-dual reality of Brahman and its *avidyā*-fabricated *jīva* to be real and holding creative powers of imagining the world of other *jīvas*, the *jagat* and *Īśvara* and their complicated inter-relationships, is a big internal contradiction. Myself and my ideas alone exist. But what am I that has ideas? What indeed is me? My body and all other non-soul elements are my ideas. All that I think about myself cannot have any substantiality. How do I know that I am Brahman under the influence of *avidyā* become *jīva*? Countless such difficulties will inevitably follow. We need not enter into that. All philosophy must deal with the ethical problem as to how best shall I lead my life. If there is neither bondage nor liberation, there is neither merit and sin that make me good or bad, can I lead a lawless, ruleless life as I choose? In actual life I feel not to be free, but I have to make adjustments with forces other than myself.

Any way one can take any point of view and carry it to its logical consequences. It becomes one system of thinking, set against many such systems. Hence there is a galaxy of philosophical systems. That does not mean that all of these are true. One has to enter into *valuational* criticism of each and all of them to decide about the best of them. This I have called 'axi-onoetics' or *valuational theory of knowledge*.

The author has in her own way dealt quite systematically the topic and view-point of her own choice. She has referred to *Brahmasūtra*, Śaṅkara's commentary on it, *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi*, Maṇḍana Miśra's *Brahmasiddhi*. She has devoted an independent chapter to the realist view of *Srṣṭi-drṣṭi-vāda* and depended *Drṣṭi-srṣṭi-vādā*, for whatever it is worth. But I would consider Śaṅkara's presentation of Advaitism as the best of all idealisms. There is sobriety in holding Brahman as the *Pāramārthikasattā*, and yet making a concession to common sense practical truth of *Vyāvahārikasattā* where sufficient reality is given to the world of sensuous experience. The real distinction between the waking state and the dream state and factual and illusory experiences within the waking state make Śaṅkara's philosophy most comprehensive. The credit must be given to Śaṅkara for holding the Absolute Brahman as the non-dual only reality. That is the truth of truths (*satyasya satyam*). In that experience there is no *māyā* or *avidyā*. There is no reality for the empirical world; it is false not in itself but only as compared to the reality of Brahman. The difference between the objective reality of the world from the empirical point of view, and its absolute falsity from the Brahman's point of view has to be understood as of vital importance. Dr. Divatia is interested in the falsity of the objective world which is boldly stated by Śaṅkarācārya. His philosophy is held absurd for his view of the falsity of the so-called objective world, not understanding his whole position. Therefore doubly absurd becomes the philosophy of entire subjectivism or solipsism which *Drṣṭi-srṣṭi-vāda* is. The modicum of the truth of the initial priority of perception or knowledge is too far fetched in this theory to make it absurd not only for layman but also for the serious thinker.

This theory is a culmination of the exclusive empiricist epistemological idealism only, and not of metaphysical idealism as Divatia thinks.

In the Advaitic thinking *Drṣṭi-srṣṭi-vāda* has two aspects. One is the individual soul's subjective idealism, which has no logical justification. The other is at the cosmic level, making the universe dependent exclusively on Brahmanic consciousness. In this form it is acceptable in Advaita.

Dr. Divatia has done well in giving Glossary and select Bibliography. But some terms in the Sanskrit Glossary are not exactly rendered. For example, *taṭastha lakṣaṇa* should be 'accidental definition'. It is a logical term, while true definition gives essential qualities, accidental definition gives non-essential accidental qualities of the thing. It is not essential for Brahman to give rise to the world. Therefore attempting to define Brahman with reference to the origin etc. of the world from it characterises its accidental nature, with which world man is familiar.

Sṛṣṭi-drṣṭi vāda should be rendered into a Vedantic theory which holds that the world is independently real, but its perception depends upon the world. It is a realistic theory. Similarly *Drṣṭi-sṛṣṭi-vāda* be explained as a subjective idealist theory opposed to the realistic theory. Both these theories are epistemological, not metaphysical.

Hetvābhāsa is a name of a logical fallacy according to Nyāya in which false reason is given. It is not wrong perception, but wrong reasoning or inference.

Hiranyagarbha is the macro-cosmic (not micro-) principle responsible for the creation of the world.

Sāṅkhya (not *sāṁkhya*) one of the orthodox system of Indian Philosophy according to which there is ultimate dualism of the opposed principles of *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* or Matter and spirit.

Savikalpa is determinate, *nirvikalpa* is indeterminate (regarding *pratyakṣa* or *samādhi*).

Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika are the two systems of Indian philosophy holding some common views (hence usually treated together). They hold realistic, pluralistic atomism.

Devayāna the path leading the soul after death to the region of the gods or deities, as distinguished from *Pitṛloka* leading to the region of the fore-fathers.

Brahmā is the mythological God of creation.

Āvaraṇaśakti, is one of the two powers of *māyā* which makes for covering or concealing the reality.

There are some other terms also which need revision, which the author may find for herself.

On the whole Dr. Divatia has done well in putting forth one of the important views of *Drṣṭi-sṛṣṭi-vāda* systematically. This theory holds its important place in the Advaita system of Vedāntā.

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Veda'akṣaṇa: Vedic Ancillary Literature: A Descriptive Bibliography compiled by K. PARAMESHWAR AIIHAL, published by Motilal Banarasidass Publishers Private Limited, Delhi 1993, Rs. 750/-, pp. vii + 755.

The book under review is "a comprehensive descriptive annotated bibliography of" all Vedic ancillary texts known as *lakṣaṇagranthas* traditionally, known as such in South India. They are so known because "they define the characteristics and describe the special features of Vedic texts" (Introduction p. 1). "These texts are generally classified under *Vedāṅga*, though only a few of them belong to the proper *Vedāṅga*, known as the *śikṣās*. They include *Prātīśākyas*, *Anukramaṇīs*, works on accentuation (*svara*) and on different forms of modified recitation (*vikṛtis*) and various kinds of indexes. . . . These texts contain an abundance of valuable material for Vedic text—critical studies" (Introduction, p. 1).

The book under review is decorated with a "Foreword" by A. Wezler, (pp. v-vi).

The compilation of the present "Bibliography" (under review) is based on several printed editions of works under reference, manuscripts of catalogues of libraries,—Indian and foreign,—and references in literature. There is a large number of *Veda'akṣaṇa* texts, but very few of them are published.

The importance and relevance of these texts are connected with the various aspects of the historical process of the transmission of the Veda through the ages and of the technique of transmission as well as the assistance it offers in reaching a better understanding of the Veda itself.

The contents of the book may be briefly stated as follows:—

- (1) "Foreword" by A. Wezler, (2) Detailed Introduction by the author (pp. 1-20). It contains general remarks, brings out importance and states categories of *Veda'akṣaṇa*—works, tradition of Vedic recitation, vague and inaccurate catalogues and unsatisfactory editions. It describes the method followed in the "Bibliography" and concludes with acknowledgements (pp. 1-20).
- (3) Abbreviations with bibliographical notes (pp. 21- 7). This section is divided into three subgroups; viz. catalogues of manuscripts, catalogues of printed books, bibliographies and other works. It contains also the abbreviations of libraries (pp. 1-57).
- (4) Descriptive Bibliography, (pp. 59-711). It has 1619 entries according to the Sanskrit alphabetical order with relevant extracts.

- (5) Appendix. Verse-Index (pp. 712-755). This contains metrical passages in the extracts cited from the beginning and the end of the works described. It is to be noted that herein "illegible or corrupt readings of manuscripts have been left uncorrected", (p. 712).

The book under review is a nice contribution, which would inspire the researchers and at the same time facilitate their work in the Vedic field to carry on further research on various aspects of the Vedic literature, as it is a highly convenient and excellent tool of research.

Let us cherish a hope with Dr. Aithal and Dr. A. Wezler that this "Catalogue" will not remain a mere documentation of the work done by former generations... but it will fulfil its true purpose a mighty incentive to resume the editorial and similar scholarly activities", (p. vi) and let us further hope that this excellent monumental work will find its useful place in the libraries of research institutes, universities and college and will serve as a beacon for similar descriptive bibliographies in the other areas/fields of knowledge.

Dr. Aithal and the publishers (—this was first published by the South Asia Institute of Heidelberg University as Volume No. 143 of the series *Beitraege zur Suedasien forschung* through Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, Germany in 1991, and the present edition is published, as noted earlier, in India by Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi-110 007, in 1993), deserve our hearty congratulations for publishing this valuable volume with decent print and nice get-up. Let us wish to have many more important works from the pen of Dr. K. P. Aithal in the years to come.

Vadodara-1.

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Rules and Regulations of Brahmanical Asceticism—Yatidharmasamuccaya of Yādavaprakāśa, edited and translated by PATRICK OLIVELLE, published by State University of New York Press, Albany, 1995, pp. 449, Price—not mentioned.

There are some digests (*nibandha*-works), dealing with the subject of *yatidharmas*, (procedure, rules and regulations, connected with *sannyāsins*). The *Yatidharmasamuccaya* of Yādavaprakāśa (a teacher of Rāmānuja acc to tradition) is one of such earliest digests of the third quarter of the eleventh century A.D., that authentically deals with this topic from the point of view of the *Vaiṣṇava* philosophy. The present book incorporates the Critical Edition, based upon ample manuscript material and the lucid English translation of the said

work. In the Introduction (pp. 1-28), the author has properly dealt with topics like (1) the Author, His life and works, (2) *Yatidharmasamuccaya* and the Ascetic Literary Tradition, (3) Structure and Contents, (4) the Domestication of Asceticism etc. Then follows (in pp. 29-17), the Lucid English translation of all the eleven chapters of the text, alongwith notes, wherever necessary. Before presenting the Critical Text, the author has given the description of the manuscript utilized, their General Relationship and Methodology followed for the constitution of the Critical Text. The Critical Text is printed in appropriate *Devanāgarī* computerized fonts, with variants, very meticulously noted below the text on the same page. The longer additional extracts/variants are however added at the end in the Appendix 1. In the appendices 2 and 3, (1) Index of authors cited and (2) The Index of citations are carefully given. The select Bibliography (along with abbreviations) and the general Index presented at the end of the book are quite useful to the researchers in the field.

The author has spared no pains in preparing the Critical Edition and the translation of the text. It is really a very arduous task. His entire presentation is most systematic, authentic, scholarly, and ideal. The printing is quite nice and the colour-combination of the coverpage makes the book attractive. The printing is most accurate; some mistakes in reading proofs of the Sanskrit Text are however sporadically met with. It may be that for the purposes of clarity, the text is found without *sandhi* at some places. The Vedic *Mantras*, quoted in the text are identified only in the translation and not in the body of the Sanskrit Text. In the absence of Indices and proper editions, it is really very difficult to identify all *Smṛti*-citations. Hence numerous *smṛti*-citations have remained unidentified. However some of them could have been traced from the available editions i.e. Dakṣa on p. 214 etc. which is Dakṣa Smṛ. (I.12 & 1), p. 265, Dakṣa Smṛti II.6-13 (*Smṛtisamuccaya*, Anandashram ed. Poona). Still the author has tried his best to identify many such quotations. It is not understood why a famous quotation from Yājñavalkya (page 258) i.e. *Ijyācārya-damāhimsā ātmadarśanam ||* should have remained unidentified, which is *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* I.8 (*Nirnaya Sagar* ed. fifth ed., Bombay, 1949). One would expect an Index of Vedic *Mantras* also with their identification.

The book is a very valuable addition to the hitherto published *Dharmaśāstra-nibandhas*. The author and the publisher deserve our hearty congratulations for the preparation and publication of this scholarly book. It will be well-received by the scholars, researchers and students in the field.

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Hindu Spirituality: Vedas Through Vedānta, Ed. by KRISHNA ŚIVRAMAN, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Ltd., Delhi, 995, pp. i-xliv + 1-447, Price: Rs. 190.

This volume forms a part of the Series "*World Spirituality: An Encyclopaedic History of the Religious Quest*", under the general editorship of Dr. Encert Cousins. It seeks to present the spiritual wisdom of the human race in its historical perspective, apportioning due and legitimate place to each tradition in the general historical development.

The present volume covers the vast field of Hindu spirituality and is naturally selective and representative as it focuses on the main and substantial phases of spiritual wisdom unfolding itself in different ages, beginning from the Vedic to the present times, except the Buddhist tradition which has been left out without showing any reason. Its contents, in all nineteen articles, are divided into eight parts. This classification renders the presentation systematic and compact.

In the introduction, the editor places Hindu spirituality in the right perspective as turning from worldliness to worldlessness, not other-worldliness. This is achieved in and through the world by transcending the individual and corporate ego - the misdirected or deflected spirit—that stands for and bears the burden of the gamut of relationships collectively known as worldliness. The ego is the self-alienating point that separates one from God and the universe. And since the locus where the sense of "I" and "mine" is absent is the locus of spirit, to renounce the ego in its far-reaching sweep is true renunciation. Any "activity", therefore, that entails release from the octopcean hold of ego, though seemingly involved in the world, is "worldless" and revelatory of the spirit. In India the direct personal experience of the spirit as the underlying reality of all existence is the grown wherefrom the multi-branched tree of religious life has grown encompassing all possible modes of mystic experience of which human nature is capable. It is truism, therefore, that "India's religious life, in view of its bewildering complexity, may aptly be described as itself providing a miniature world spirituality series - a meeting-place of traditions rather than a single religious tradition".

Part one bearing the rubric, "The Vedic Spirit" consists of four articles, namely, "The Vision of the Vedic Seer" by Prof. Rajendra P. Pandey, "The Spirituality of the Vedic Sacrifice" by Hriday R. Sharma, "Truth, Teaching and Tradition" by Wayne Whillier and "Spirit and Spiritual Knowledge in the Upaniṣads" by John G. Arapura.

The Vedic Seers make the central proposition intended to be conveyed through the Veda, the Corpus of Knowledge that is Divine Revelation, when they say that the "One" becomes the many. This "One Being" cannot, strictly speaking, be described as even one, for one is correlative of the second. While the one is—that is abides as one—no creation is possible. The *Nāsadiyasūkta* clearly states that the "One", the transcendent, is not directly involved in the creative process. In the "One Being" that must be conscious of its unity and infinity, no second principle—the necessary condition for creation can emerge. The seer of this hymn intends to convey this fundamental state of Truth. But we, being situated on this side of creation, can have no inkling of the "One Transcendent Being" except through its relation to the many. Prof. Pandeya observes: "Clearly, this hymn is concerned with the grounding of creation in the One. The grounding must be understood in a twofold manner as both immanent and transcendent. The Lord of creation is immanent, but the repose of this immanence is absolute transcendence. This state of creation would thus seem to render its secret beyond even the comprehension of the sages. Indeed, the hymn itself says that the secret of creation is realized only in the depth of the heart-*hrdi*,—that is, by means of exclusive devotion. Hence the last verse of this hymn indicates the essential limitation of the capacity of comprehension on the part of both the gods and *ṛṣis*; it need not be construed as an expression of ultimate skepticism. It describes an ontological situation which suggests that only faith brings one near the realization of the absolute transcendence and pure immanence of the "One". As R.V. 10.151 says, with faith-*śraddhā*—alone can one attain proximity to the Divine and live for ever rich and happy. It is, therefore, this faith which forms the real backgrounds of Vedic spirituality and religion", (p. 12).

Thus the involvement—rather the lack of involvement—of the Lord of creation in the creation has to be understood as the subtle mode of irradiating presence, an all-encompassing enlivening pervasion, His status rendering Him an actionless witness, the unmoved mover at all levels of creative process. Rightly understood, creation has a spiritual beginning, not a material one. It is an act of self-sacrifice, sustained by a series of sacrifices, ending in an all-round sacrifice. The "One Being" initially sacrifices his autonomous status as the "One Being" conscious of His unity and infinity, giving rise to the principle of veiling. This covers or conceals His infinite self-luminosity by "darkness enshrouded by darkness". This utter darkness overlaid on the limitless self-luminosity is the necessary condition of creation, the ground for the projection of the "One" as many. The Vedic seers designate it as *māyā*, the inherent power of the "One". This ontologically non-different but epistemically different and therefore inscrutable point of self-departure, self-objectification or self-differentiation called *māyā*, is directly involved in creation. Viśvakarmā—

the immanent God sacrifices this dense darkness, the opaque and gross primordial waters, giving rise to an all-pervasive principle of vibration or activity and the process of creation—rather manifestation or evolution—is set in full motion. Sacrifice is thus the primeval law, the divine ordinance that governs the whole process of creation. It is described as “God, Himself termed as *yajña* or sacrifice, worshipping sacrifice with the help of sacrifice”, stated cryptically “*yajñena yajñamayajanta devāḥ tāni dharmāṇi prathamānyāsan*”. The esoteric significance of this statement regarding “*yajña*” is that there is only “One Being” and not two: One Infinite Being and the other Finite Being, throughout the entire process of creation. When the apparently separate Finite Being, in accordance with the divinely ordained law, sacrifices or renounces willingly his status of Finite Being, he is automatically restored to his original true nature as the “One Being”, without a second. The Vedic seers, posit this as the existential object of human endeavour. The editor has stated this in plain words: “The story of the spiritual wisdom of India is the story of the concerted effort to contain the power and pretensions of the egoistic or self-asserting will”, (p. xvii, Intr.). That this is the one eternal norm of the Hindu ethos is exemplified till date by the contemporary sages like Shri Ramaṇa Maharshi, who without much ado of assuming formal *Śaṁnyāsa* and the like, boldly, firmly, and radically negated rather denied the ego and ideally but quietly rejected all the social, political and even religious institutions projected by it, though he admitted the need of popular religious practices for the immature ones. He reintroduced the long-forsaken direct path of self-enquiry, hitherto believed to be reserved for the renouncer of the world only and has been guiding those who turn to him in spirit, reassuring them of the simplicity and easiness of self-realization.

Thus, Prof. Pandeya and the editor in asserting devout faith (which enables one to perceive God’s absolute transcendence and pure immanence in creation) and radical renunciation of ego (which brings about the perception of the “one spirit” leading to the feeling of universal affinity) to be the pivotal points of Indian spirituality, set the tone for the subsequent development of various related themes in the appearing in the volume.

The subsequent portion of the volume is planned as follows:—

Part Two: The Spiritual Horizon of Dharma, Spiritual Foundation of Caste, by Kenneth H. Post.

The Ideal of Perfect Life: The Rāmāyaṇa, by K. R. Sundararajan, Dharma as the Goal: The Mahābhārata by Arun Kumar Mookerjee.

Part Three: The Śramaṇic Spirituality, The Jain Spirit and Spirituality by Sagar Mal Jain.

Part Four The Spiritual Quest for Immortality and Freedom

Yoga: The Royal Path to Freedom by Ravi Ravindra.

Buddhiyoga in the Bhagavadgītā by Arvind Sharma.

The Reflective Word: Spirituality in the Grammarian Tradition of India,
by Harold G. Coward.

Part Five: Vedānta as Reflective Spirituality, Vedānta as Philosophy of
Spiritual Life, by Kalidas Bhattacharya.

Part Six: Vedānta as Devotion, The Spiritual Vision of Rāmānuja, by
S. S. Raghavachar.

The Śivādvaita of Śrīkaṇṭha: Spirit as the Inner Space within the Heart
by Krishna Śivaraman.

Vedānta as God—Realization (Madhva), by K. T. Pandurangi.

Part Seven: Spirituality and Human Life, Spirituality and Nature, by
Klaus K. Klostermaier

Spirituality and Health (Āyurveda), by S. N. Bhavsar and Gertrud Kiem.

Part Eight: Contemporary Expressions of the Classical Spirit.

Two Contemporary Exemplars of the Hindu Tradition: Ramaṇa Maharṣi
and Śrī Chandraśekharendra Sarasvati, by Balasubrahmanian.

Śrī Ānandamayī Mā: Divine Play of the Spiritual Journey, by Bithika
Mukherji.

The authors of these articles are pre-eminent scholars who have made substantial contribution to the field of their respective studies. The articles are both instructive and interesting, authentic and objective. Any reader, a student or a scholar will find in nut-shell a treasure of vital, educative information which could otherwise be gathered only by referring to scores of difficult ancient Sanskrit or Prakrit texts. The general editor of this unique series, the editors of specific volumes published under it and the publishers all deserve heart-felt congratulations from those concerned with such ennobling literature.

The photographs, the glossary and the indexes enhance the academic value of the work.

Vadodara

R. T. Vyas

Life and Thought of Śaṅkarācārya by GOVIND CHANDRA PANDE, Pub: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Ltd., Delhi, 1994, pp. i-xv + 1-384, Price, Rs 250/-.

There exists a good number of legendary biographies of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya from medieval times, but, so far, no critical historical biography of the great master who churned out the quintessence of the Vedic philosophical thinking was available. The present work seeks to meet this desideratum. It is based on a comprehensive and critical study of all available sources on this subject in the original and aims at a historical reconstruction of Ādi Śaṅkarācārya's life and epoch-making work.

The present work is primarily based on the first-hand study of the corpus of Śaṅkara's writings or works attributed to him and on a critical and comparative study of his available traditional biographies. The works of this near contemporary thinkers like Dharmakīrti and Śāntarakṣita, Kumārila and Maṇḍana Mīśra as well as his disciples like Sureśvara and Padmapāda have been utilized. The works of predecessors like Śrī Gauḍapādācārya, Bhartṛhari and Bhārucci and epigraphic records also have been used wherever needed. Also traditional and modern interpretations of great scholars and philosophers have been taken into consideration. The author has endeavoured to discover the original Śaṅkara rather than be content with the Śaṅkara as represented by the medieval religious thinkers and intellectuals. The author concludes that correctly understood, the inspiration of Śaṅkara is perennial and refreshing and is even capable of providing a basis for a universal, philosophical religion in today's context. The selective Subject—Index and the selective Name—Index added at the end of the book will prove useful to the serious scholars and students.

Vadodara

R. T. VYAS

Mahāmudrā: The Quintessence of Mind and Meditation, by TAKPO TASHI NAMGYAL, Tr. by LOHSANG P. LHALUNGPA, Pub: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 1993, pp. i-lxii + 1-488, price, Rs. 325/-.

The work under review is a lucid and readable English translation of a major and very important Tibetan Buddhist text on the theory and practice of meditation—a manual dealing with various stages of meditation and vital instructions regarding the practice of meditation especially intended for the training of advanced students. Takpo Tashi Namgyal (1512-1587 A.D.) was a great lama and profound scholar of the Tibetan Buddhism. This excellent English translation is from the hands of Tibet's highly gifted scholar. It is a treasure of

incalculable value for those for whom correct methodology and procedure of meditation is of great importance. For such practitioners of meditation, it will definitely prove to be a lifelong and absolutely reliable source-book of guidance.

The term *mahāmudrā* means "the great symbol" and refers to an experience of realization of ultimate reality which any normal enthusiastic aspirant can attain by following the guidelines laid down in the text, and going through tranquil absorption-*Śamatha*-and insight-*Vipaśyanā*. *Mahāmudrā* for its realization needs one to practice observation and investigation of one's own mind. If followed precisely this meditation practice makes one to rest in one's natural state of being. On its attainment one realizes that one's thoughts and emotions, hopes and fears are not obstacles but may themselves prove to be the tools for seeing them as being the manifestation of ultimate reality—that is, emptiness. One begins to understand the static and dynamic states of mind to be coemergent realities and beyond this process of thought and absence of thought, there is a changeless basis of infinite pure awareness. Realization of this natural state of mind which is immutable and detached from the duality of "Self" and the "other" is called *mahāmudrā*.

The book is a must for those who wish to follow seriously the path shown by the Buddha—the enlightened one and also for those who value meditation as a basic need for normal and purposeful life. It is indeed a significant step in the direction of universal enlightenment—the aspiration of all compassionate followers of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism.

The bibliography and the index of quotations enrich the volume and make it useful for students and scholars alike.

Vadodara

R. T. VYAS

Hermeneutics and Language in Pūrvamīmāṃsā: A Study in Śābara Bhāṣya, by OTHMAR GACHTER, Pub. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, pp. i-vi + 1-164, Price: Rs. 100/-

All human effort is aimed at knowing the truth. This has to be done through the help of language and meaning. The ancient Indian thinker Shri Śābarācārya in his *Bhāṣya* on Jaimini's *Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra* attempts to show how man participates in Satya-truth-through language and hermeneutics. Man's life becomes meaningful by his search for truth and language and hermeneutics assist him in this search for meaning and truth. It is this ancient Indian branch of knowledge that laid down for the first time in human history the basic canons, norms and principles of hermeneutics or exegesis, that is, interpretation of ancient scriptural texts, which have been since then, followed by all schools of philosophy that arose in India.

Śrī Śabarācārya holds that unalloyed happiness or heaven is the final goal of human endeavour and that can be attained by following the injunctions of the scriptures as they alone can show the way to lasting bliss, perceiving as they do those things and entities which lie beyond the reach of man's senses, mind and reason.

The work is a revised form of the earlier research thesis submitted by the author for the award of Ph.D in Philosophy of the Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

The textual sources and glossary of technical terms are added to the work as an appendix. The bibliography and the index enhance the value of the book which is produced well with aesthetic appeal.

Vadodara

R. T. YAS

Jinaratna's Līlāvātī-Sāra (A Sanskrit Abridgement of Jineśvarasūri's Prakrit Līlāvātī-Kahā): Edited by DR. H. C. BHAYANI with Assistance from DR. N. M. KANSARA: L. D. Series No. 96: Published by L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-380009: First Edition, November, 1983; Pages 8 + 58+443, size 24 x 16.5 cms; Price Rs. 11/-.

This is a very interesting story-book in Sanskrit. Jineśvarasūri, the founder of *Vasatī-vāsa* i.e. the Practice of staying in special residences set up by Śrāvakas for Jaina monks, composed Prākrit *Nirvāṇa-līlāvātī-Kahā* (Sk. *Nirvāṇa-līlāvātī-Kathā*) at Āśāpallī in 1036 A.D., which seems to have been extinct as no manuscript of it is traceable. It is traditionally believed to be consisting of 18,000 Prākrit *gāthās*. Jinaratnasūri of the tradition of Jineśvara attempted an abridgement in Sanskrit of this Prākrit work in V.S. 1341, i.e. 1285 A.D. He describes his work as an *Itivṛttoddhāra* of the *Mahākathā Nirvāṇa-Līlāvātī*, that is to say, it was prepared just for those who may be interested only in the narrative proper and not at all in poetic descriptions and embellishments which he has avoided. So it is quite significantly entitled *Līlāvātī-Sāra*. Its extent being of 5350 *granthāgṛas*, this abridgement is even less than one-third of the original.

This edition is based on a Photo-copy of a Paper-manuscript preserved in the Manuscripts Collection of the Kharataḥa Gaccha Bhaṇḍāra at Jesalmer, which is the only known manuscript of the work.

As is the common feature of India's ancient *kathā* literature, we find here stories and sub-stories and sub-sub-stories! The central theme is that king Vijayasena, merchant Purandara, minister Jayaśāsana, royal priest Śūra and

Carvan-leader Dhana listened to the stories of Rāmadeva and others from Sudharma-svāmin, got initiated into the Jaina Order at his hands and finally attained deliverance after several births. The birth-stories begin with that of Prince Simha of King Jayadharma of Rājagṛha. He fell in love with and married Lilāvati, daughter of the feudatory Arimardana. This Lilāvati has been immortalised by giving her name, significantly, to the title of the e Prākṛit and Sanskrit works.

The book is divided into 21 Cantos called *Utsāhas* and at the close is given a *Granthakāra-praśasti* of 21 verses. Descriptions are lively, character-sketches are naturalistic and moving. Actions, interactions and motivations of characters belonging to various social strata, customs, manners and practices—all appear to present a faithful picture of the original author's contemporary society. The work is considerably influenced by Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*.

The introduction by the Editor covers 58 pages which deals with, over and above a summary of the contents, such relevant topics as the original Prākṛit work, its author, the Sanskrit work and its author, sources, style and literary qualities and its linguistic peculiarities.

The conversation of Piśācas in the Piśācī dialect (IV. 189-194) may be regarded as furnishing a faithful specimen of Piśācī of the eleventh century.

This work is written in a sort of hybrid and colloginal Sanskrit language termed by M. Bloomfield as "Jaina Sanskrit" and by Dr. Hertel as "Vernacular Sanskrit" wherein are met with so many rare and obsolete words, back-formations, hyper-Sanskritism and even regional words and expressions. Even proper names are found to be Prākṛitic, e.g. Jasāditya, Devadīnna, Somaḍī etc. Therefore a long list of lexicographically important words and expressions along with their meanings, notes etc., has been appended at the end (pages 403 to 436 in two columns). Such a glossary in such works would prove quite useful for proper understanding. They are given here under each of the 21 *Utsāhas* in the sequence of their occurrences and as such a number of repetitions are found. It would have been more useful had it been arranged in proper alphabetical order with all references given at one place. In some cases Prākṛit, Old Gujarātī and Modern Gujarātī equivalents are also provided. In some cases Gujarātī equivalents seem to have been missed! For instance *kūpi* (I. 124) can well be compared with Guj. *kūpi-kūmpī* and Marāṭhī *kupī*, and *corikā* (II. 36) may be equivalent to Guj. *cori*. Likewise, the root *ava-lag* (II. 144) may be connected with Guj. *Ōlagāno*.

The most striking of the peculiar usages are *asmi* (II. 213) in the sense of *aḥam* 'I', *asi* (II. 74) for *tvam* 'you', *take* (XVII. 19) for *te*, *śakah* (XVII. 3) for *śah* and *a-akau* (XVII. 2, 3) for *asau*. Should we regard them *metri causa*?

In the Abbreviations given at the commencement of this useful glossary the names of the authors of the book *Lexicographical Studies in Jaina Sanskrit* are given as B. J. Sandesara and S. D. Parekh. The second name has to be corrected as J. P. Thaker. So many of these vocables have been treated in that book. A similar Appendix has been provided by this reviewer under the title *A Lexicographical Study* (pages 3-8) in his edition of most probably the oldest available Prabandha work called *Laghu-prabandha-saṅgraha* (composed by one author some time between 134 A.D. and 1205 A.D.) published in the M. S. University Research Series as early as 1970. Several of the vocables of the book under review also occur in that very important work written in 'Jaina Sanskrit'. The learned editor and veteran scholar does not take any notice of such an important-both lexicographically and historically important - Prabandha work.

The book is indeed an interesting and valuable addition to the corpus of Jaina story-literature published so far.

Vadodara

J. P. THAKER

Vardhamānasūri's Jugā-jīṇanda-carīya (*Sk. Yugādhinendra-carita*): Edited by RUPENDRAKUMAR PAGARRA: L. D. Series No, 104; Published by L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-390 009; First Edition 1987; Pages 8 + 30 + 280, size 21.5 × 14 cms, Price Rs. 60/-.

This is a very interesting legendary biography of Yugādi-jinendra i.e. Ṛṣabhanātha, the very first *Tirthaṅkara* of the Jaina Church written in Prakrit by Vardhamānasūri, a disciple of the famous *Navāṅga-vṛttikā* Abhayadevasūri, at Khambhat in V. S. 1160 i.e. 1104 A.D. It contains both prose and verse. Its extent is of 11,000 verse units. Over and above an account of 13 previous births of Lord Ṛṣabhanātha and the last birth as the *Tirthaṅkara*, it narrates some 44 secondary stories and anecdotes. Some of these are frequently occurring Jaina narratives. Five of them belong to the *Pañcatantra* tradition. The tale of Śīladhanā (pp. 11-19) is an adaptation of the Jaina version of the well-known story of Nala and Damayantī. That of Nanda, Cāṇakya and Candragupta in the *Kuṇḍala-Kahā* (pp. 9 ff) has a few novel features. This work also contains a very early form of the well-known tale of Candana and Malayāgiri. There are allegorical tales, folk-tales and tales illustrating different aspects of the nature of women. A tale similar to the famous popular tale of Śekha-Calli appears on

p. 98. It may be noted with interest that even in those early days the folk-tale of a young physician reviving a lion by the power of his special love and the revived lion finally killing the revivor himself was also prevalent.

It is the most extensive of all available Prakrit works narrating the biography of Ṛṣabhanātha. Composed in *Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit* it does bear Sanskrit quotations inserted here and there, the *Aryā* metre being the most prominent in the verse portion. The hymn to the 24 *Tīrthaṅkaras*, that of Ṛṣabhadeva and the excellent description of the battle between the brothers Bharata and Bāhubali are in *Apabhraṃśa* language revealing author's skill in multi-language composition. These *Apabhraṃśa* passages throw considerable light on the trends of the *Apabhraṃśa* literature of Gujarat during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. A variety of metres are employed in these *Apabhraṃśa* portions, *Raḍḍā* being the most prominent one. Some 300 verses in the *Raḍḍā* metre are met with in this book.

The style is quite simple but is marked by the use of colloquial expressions, idioms and proverbs. This fact makes the book all the more important from the view-point of a study of the beginnings and early history of *Gujarātī* and other related languages. A brief list of such peculiar usages is furnished by Dr. H. C. Bhayani in his learned Foreword to the book. In a foot-note thereto he further points out that strangely enough Haribhadra, having more than 3300 *Raḍḍās* to his credit in his *Nemināhacariyā*, has out right borrowed two *Raḍḍās* (verses 2411 and 2412 - on p. 215) from the book under review !

The introduction by the editor written in Hindī comprising some 30 pages is both interesting and informative. Over and above a brief survey of the contents of the valuable work, he has traced therein the development of the biography through *Āgamas Nirvyūktis*, *Bhāṣyas*, *Cūrṇis* and Sanskrit and Prakrit *Carita*-works. He also takes note therein of the *Dīgambara* tradition and gives an account of the author.

The pre-ent work will prove very important from historical and cultural view-points especially for researches of Indian Folk-tale literature. The rich, literary, narrative and linguistic data of such works may also prove helpful for filling up gaps in our cultural history of the period round about 1000 A D. Both the editor and the publisher of the book deserve hearty congratulations for bringing out such a highly valuable and interesting work.

More Studies in Sanskrit Sāhitya-Sāstra. DR. V. M. KULKARNI, Pub.: Saraswati Pustak Bhandar, Ahmedabad, 1993, Pages 211, Price Rs 250/-.

The present Volume of fifteen papers is in continuation of the *Studies in Sanskrit Sahitya Sastra* published in 1983, by the B. L. Institute of Indology, Patan. I then felt honoured to have reviewed the very valuable reasearch papers in it. It is again my pleasure to welcome this work and review it.

The papers cover up several interesting topics—some are new and some are ever new. The first six papers take up six ever new topics—ever living topics on which so many Ācāryas and scholars have written and every scholar contributes something new and positive. The process will continue. The best is undoubtedly the first paper which carefully and thoroughly analyses the theory of Beauty as propounded by Sanskrit Ācāryas and reveals the vast thinking and lofty, shall we say—almost all-sided visioning of our scholars. Much of it is as laid down by Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta more than a thousand years back. This living and lofty thinking on *Rasa* and *Dhvani* would have and could have been evolved still better if it had been placed side by side with some modern parallel thinking from the West, from Richards, Eliot and Sussane Langer etc., in particular.

We may concede that “Dual Nature of Sāttvikabhāvas” and “Hemacandra on Sāttvikabhāvas” are new, both in thinking and analysis. The next paper, “Sanskrit Thinkers on Logic in Relation to Poetry” begins well and places before us the views and thinking on the topic by Ānandavardhana, but leaves us unsatisfied; the topic could have and should have been elaborated further and also could have shown how his thinking and analysis are different, new and original. We expect further enlightenment. He could have elaborated a little further this very valuable problem selected by the author.

To the author, the works and words of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta are of the highest stature in the realm of Sanskrit poetics and in the ultimate truths of *Dhvani* and *Rasa*, and he is right. Theirs seem to be the last words on poetry, poetics and dramatics. Even their followers like Mammaṭa, Kuntaka, Hemacandra, Viśvanātha and Jagannātha have not added any thing very much substantially new to the thinking and theories of the two great Ācāryas.

His appreciation of “Rājaśekhara: the critic” is a good tribute to the contribution of the author of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* rightly known as a scholar on Kaviśikṣā also.

One more paper “Anandavardhana, Dhanika and Kuntaka on the *Abhijñāna-Śākuntala*” enlists purposeful references of the drama by the great poet-dramatist in the first two critics and elaborates on the original thinking and

analysis of both, the references from the drama and the first ever attempt at analysing the drama as a whole as found in Kuntaka. Dr. Kulkarni here draws our attention to one lacunae in Sanskrit poetics when he says:

"It is indeed a pity that the standard works on dramatics like the *Daśa-rūpaka* (with the commentary *Avaloka*), the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* or works on both poetics and dramatics... do not judge a Sanskrit drama as a whole from the different points of view." (p. 144).

Our whole methodology and line of poetic and dramatic criticism was hardly conscious of this approach and study.

When he refers to what Kuntaka wrote on this drama of Kālidāsa, he rightly refers also to what the commentator Raghavabhaṭṭa contributed towards the appreciation of the "real greatness and unique beauty of this greatest Sanskrit play." (p. 145). Here, he quite rightly states that:

"It is only fair to judge an ancient work in the light of the standards which the poet had kept before him when writing this play." (p. 145).

In the light of this the critical approach and study of Kuntaka's original observations on the play have been analysed and elucidated by the author with an air of a great research scholar that he is.

We have then an important paper on "Prakrit poetry and Sanskrit Poetics" in which all major Prakrit works are briefly but effectively analysed. Here, his very deep study of Prakrit-literature betrays itself.

It is known that Dr. Kulkarni is as much of a scholar of Sanskrit as of Prakrit. The article will certainly inspire several readers to study some Prakrit works further, may be, even with the eyes of a scholar and researcher.

Appendix one and Appendix two which are translations of some relevant portions from *Kāvyānūśāna* and *Pratāparudriya* on *Sāttvikabhāvas* by Prof. M. V. Patwardhan, add to the value of the work and give to the reader a better understanding of articles 7 and 8—both on the *Sāttvikabhāvas*.

At a time when learning of very high order as in scholars of old even on a living subject like Sanskrit Poetics seems to be gradually dying, this work is most welcome, both as a work of high scholarship and merit and as a work that has the inner worth and potential to inspire some students and scholars to pursue studies further on the same lines and keep Sanskrit poetic criticism living and also to reveal its real greatness and value to the western world.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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18. *Sureśvara's Vārtika on Ajātaśatru Brāhmaṇa* by K. P. Jog and Shoun Hino; pp. xxvi + 269, Price. Rs. 295-00.

कतृस्या च गमेः क्रिया इति सिद्धम् । अकर्मकम्भ्यो भावे कृत्याः सकर्मकम्भ्यस्तु कर्मणे इति । पुनः कथम्भूतस्य पाणिनेः—भूतनिष्ठस्य—भूते भूतकाले निष्ठा एतदाख्यो(रव्या) प्रत्ययै यस्येति । तथा ‘क्तक्तवत् निष्ठा’ (पा. १.१.२६) इति सूत्रितायाः निष्ठामञ्जायाः भूत इति सूत्रं कालव्यवस्थापकम् । तथा सद्वृत्तेः भाव्यवेक्षणया सती सूत्राशयानुसारिणी वृत्तिः यस्येति । उपलक्षणत्वाच्चास्य सदभाष्यस्येत्यपि ध्येयम् । अथवा सद्वृत्तेः सता सत्संज्ञया वृत्तिस्तत्र तत्र वर्तनं यस्य । तथा च ‘ न लोकाव्ययनिष्ठावर्त्यसद्व्ययसमानाधिकरणे ’ (पा. २.३.६९) इत्यादौ तौ सदिति लङादेशयोः शतृशानचोः सदिति संज्ञेति ॥५॥ (४)

संस्थानकरणं यत्नाद्वर्णशिक्षाविशेषिणेः(णः) ।

अवर्णसङ्करकृतो यस्य दाक्षेयतुल्यता ॥ ६ ॥ (१)

अथ च यस्य श्रीरामस्य दाक्षे चातुर्ये राजनीतिसमास्फालनलक्षणे येन शुभावहदैवेन तुल्यता साम्यं महकारित्वमिति यावत् । स्वप्रतिभाकलितेन कर्तव्येन दैवमप्यनुययावित्यर्थः । अतिदुर्घटमपि यत्किञ्चित् स्वामीष्टं कल्पितं तत्र दैवमप्यनुकूलनया यस्य ववृत इति, तत्र दाक्ष्यमिति । दक्षस्य भाव इति विग्रहे ‘ निपुणादिभ्यो णावति परासमुद्धितोऽण् प्रत्ययः । ’ () नैपुण्यं नैपुणमितिवत् । दाक्ष्यं दाक्षमिति रूपद्वयसिद्धेः । यदि पुनराग्रहः—परिगणनमेवात्र नियतं, न दिङ्मात्रं तदिति तदापि दाक्षेयतुल्यतेति दाक्षे दाक्ष इति रूपे यतुल्य-तेत्यावृत्त्या योज्यम् । येन यकारेण तुल्यता प्रकृतार्थसमर्थनमिति पर्यन्ते तु दाक्षेति यकार-हितमेव स्वरूपमिति अनया चोक्त्या श्रीरामस्य दिव्यप्रकृतित्वं द्योतितम् । तथा च महानु-भावास्ते दिव्यसर्गा भूमावुपागताः, येषां नयानुगा लक्ष्म्याद्यर्था वानुकृता कृते—इति नेयप्रकारमेव विशेषद्वारा समर्थयति संस्थानेत्यादि । कथम्भूतस्य श्रीरामस्य वर्णशिक्षाविशेषिणः—वर्णानां चतुर्णां विप्रक्षत्रियविट्शूद्राख्यानां या शिक्षा स्वस्ववर्णधर्मवृत्तिपालनेन भवतामैहिकामुत्रिकं श्रेयः स्थितिमुपयास्यतीति तदाचरणोपदेशः, तं विशेषयति परस्परवैविध्येनोपदिशतीति । तथा च विष्णुः सङ्क्षेपेण तद्वर्णं वृत्तिं चाह—तेषां धर्माः—ब्राह्मणस्याध्यापनम् । १ ।, क्षत्रस्य शस्त्र-नित्यता । २ ।, वैश्यस्य पशुपालनम् । ३ ।, शूद्रस्य द्विजशुश्रूषा इति । ४ ।, इमेऽमीषाम् असाधारणधर्माः । अथैषां वृत्तयः—ब्राह्मणस्याध्यापनयाजनप्रतिग्रहाः । १ ।, क्षत्रियस्य क्षतत्राणम् । २ ।, कृषिवाणिज्ययोन्यपोषणानि वैश्यस्य । ३ ।, शूद्रस्य सर्वशिल्पानि इति । ४ ।, (विष्णुस्मृतिः अध्याय २) । उक्तं विष्वापिन इत्यस्य स्थाने विशेषिण इति । तत्रायमा-शयः—पदा कदाचित् स्वधर्मस्थित्या वृत्तिसङ्कोचः तदा तज्जातूर्ध्वारोहणा हितावहाऽपि त्वनन्तरेति विशेषः । तथा च स एव ‘[आपदि]अनन्तरावृत्तिः’ इति (वि.स्मृ.अ. २) । अनेनैवाशयेन शत्रुसङ्कटपतितमापद्ग्रस्तमर्जुनं ‘श्रेयो भोक्तुं भैक्ष्यमपीह लोके’ (भ.गी. २.५) इति श्रोपरिवर्तमानब्राह्मणवृत्तिमापद्ग्रस्तमैहिकामुत्रिकशुभसाधनतया मत्पमानं भगवान्निवारयति—

श्रयान्स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात्स्वनुष्ठितात् ।

स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः ॥ इति (भ.गी. ३.३५; १८.४७)

अत्र परधर्मादित्यनेन स्वोर्ध्ववर्तिब्राह्मणधर्मस्वीकारो योऽर्जुनहृदयावर्जकोऽभूत् तमेव भयावह इत्यैहिकामुत्रिकभयदायित्वेन निषेधति भगवानिति । न केवलं शिक्षामात्रमेव शुद्धं वर्णेषु विशिनष्टि अपि तु पितृवत्पालकत्वमपीत्याह सस्थानेति । यत्नादहोरात्रसमवधानेन सस्थानकरणमिति सहस्थानानामायोत्पत्तिनिधानभूततत्तदधिकारास्पदानां करणेन सम्पादनेन वर्तते इति सस्थानकरणमानुरूप्येण तत्तत्स्थानेषु अधिकृतान विधाय यः शिक्षां ददातीत्यर्थः । स्थानानुरूप्येण च अधिकारिकरणं विष्णुराह । आकरलवणशुल्कमणिनागवनेष्वाप्तान् नियुञ्जीत, १; धर्मिष्ठान्धर्मकार्येषु, २; सङ्ग्रामकर्मसु शूरान्, ३; उग्रानुग्रेषु, ४; षण्डान् स्त्रीष्वपि, ५ (वि.स्मृ.अ. ३) तत्तत्स्थाननिवेशितानां च स्थानानुरूप्येण कर्मानुरूप्येण च शिक्षाविधायिनः शुल्कमार्गशिक्षाभृतिरूपेण गतागतिकानां पञ्चमभागादिग्रहणम् । ब्राह्मणेभ्यः स्वोपयो(भो)ग्यकरादानं न कुर्यात् । शुक्ल(लक)स्थानमपहरत्सर्वस्वापहारमाप्नुयादित्यादिरूपवर्णगतां शिक्षां यो विशेषयति विशेषेण करोतीति । विधेयसमवधानं निरूप्य हेयसमवधानार्थमाह अवर्णेति । निरूपितधर्मवैपरीत्याचरणं वर्णसङ्करस्तं यो न करोतीत्यवर्णसङ्करकृत् । अकरणं चात्र तन्निवारणं यः कश्चित् स्ववर्णधर्माच्चावते तं यो दमयतीति, नित्योदितदण्डत्वसूचनम् । तथा च स एव—

अपराधानुसारेण दण्डं दण्डेषु पातयेत् ।

द्वितीयमपराधं न कस्यचित् क्षमेत् ॥

नादण्ड्यो नामास्ति राज्ञाम् ।

यत्र श्यामो लोहिताक्षो दण्डश्चरति नित्यशः ।

प्रजास्तत्र विवर्धन्ते नेता चेत् साधु पश्यति ॥ (वि.स्मृ.अ. ३) इति ।

अथ च उद्दिष्टं वर्णशिक्षाविधायिन इति । ये पुनः वर्णबाह्याः सच्छिक्षानुचित्ताः तेषामपि कथञ्चित् कयाचित् रीत्या राजशिक्षया भाव्यमेव येन प्रजापालकत्वाख्यास्य ख्यातिमायास्यतीत्यावृत्त्या योज्यम् । अवर्णेति—अवर्णा वर्णबाह्याः प्रतिलोमजानुलोमजम्लेच्छादि-ज्ञातीयाः तेषां शं सुखं भद्रं कल्याणं यथा स्यात्तथा । करकृत इति—करो रक्षादिनिर्वेशरूपो राजदेयो भागस्तं करोति, यथोचितं कल्पयतीति । कृञ् अत्र क्रियासामान्यवाचीति । कृत इति कल्पयितुरित्यर्थः । तथा च मनुः—

यत्किञ्चिदस्य वर्षस्य दापयेत् करसंज्ञितम् ।

व्यवहारेण जीवन्तं राजा राष्ट्रे पृथग्जनम् ॥ (मनुस्मृति. ७.१३७)

इति करादानं हि तेषामुत्पथगामित्वनिवारकत्वात् तत्सुखाय स्वसुखायैव जायत इत्यभिप्रायः ॥

सस्थानकरणं यत्नाद्वर्णशिक्षाविशेषिणः ।

अवर्णसङ्करकृतो यस्य दाक्षेयतुल्यता ॥ ६ (२) ॥

यस्य च विष्णुरूपिणो भगवतः कृष्णस्य दाक्षे श्रेष्ठे 'दक्ष वृद्धा शीघ्रायें च इति धातोः (पा. धा. ६०८) दक्षः शीघ्रकारी, तस्य भावो दाक्षे शीघ्रकारित्वम् । अतिदृष्टविधेयेऽपि यल्लघुकारित्वं तत्र य तुल्यता ' येन यकारो वा पुर इत्युक्त ' इत्येवाक्षरकोशात् । येन वायुना तुल्यता साम्यम् । यथा वायुः शीघ्रकारी तथाऽयमपि इति । अथवा दाक्षे चातुर्ये सर्वकार्यान्तरगामित्वे सर्वकाशित्वे च । वायुतुल्यता कुत्राप्यस्वलदगतित्वं कार्यान्तरक्ष[म]त्वम् अप्रतिरोधश्च इत्यर्थः । शब्दसंस्कारश्चात्रापि प्राग्वत् । अथवा यस्य त्रिविक्रमोद्यतस्य दाक्षे वृद्धौ यतुल्यताऽन्तरिक्षमवाप्य तद्व्याप्तिकारित्वात् वायुतुल्यता । यथा वायुरन्तरिक्षमारुह्य श्रयति येन मातरिश्चेति तदारूपा प्रसिद्धा तथा अयमप्यन्तरिक्षं प्राप्य बलिनियमनवेलायां वृद्ध इति ॥ अथवा यस्य दाक्षे वृद्धौ यतुल्यता देवतुल्यता, अकस्मादेव वृद्धिदर्शनात् । यथा देववलात् अकस्मादेव क्षणमात्रेण वृद्धिर्दृश्यते, तथा दशनानन्तरमेव रोदसीव्यापनात् वृद्धौ देवतुल्यत्वमिति । तथा च निबद्धम् ।

किं क्रमिष्यति किलैष वामनो यावदित्यमसहन्न दानवाः ।

तावदस्य न ममो न भस्तले लङ्घिताकेशशिमण्डलः क्रमः ॥ () इति ।

कथम्भूतस्य यस्य सस्थानेत्यादि । स्थानानि धरादीनि करणानि च तत्तत्स्थानानुरूपाणि शरीराणि ताभ्यां सह वर्णशिक्षाविशेषिणः वर्णस्य रूपस्य वा शिक्षा-भारतयुद्धेऽजुनविश्वासायं दौत्यवेलायां वा दुर्याधनादिमन्त्रिणमन्त्रभञ्जनपूर्वं तत्त्रासोत्पादनार्थं वा विश्वरूपाभिनयस्तां विशिनष्टीति । यत्र विश्वरूपप्रदर्शने तानि तानि स्थानानि तत्तत्स्थाननिवासोचितशरीराणि, तांस्तांश्च शुक्लकृष्णादीन् वर्णान् प्रदर्शयितुं प्रतीयाय स्वात्मानं वा मोचयामासेत्यर्थः । तथा च गीतम्—

पश्यामि देवांस्तत्र देव देहे सर्वास्तथा भूतविशेषसङ्घान् ।

ब्रह्माणमीश कमलासनस्थम् ऋषींश्च सर्वानुरगांश्च दिव्यान् ॥

(भ.गी. ११.१५) इत्यादि ।

अत्र कमलासनस्थमिति कमलार्थं लक्ष्म्या आसनं वैकुण्ठभवनं तत्र तिष्ठतीति कमलासनस्थो विष्णुर्व्याख्येयो, येन कारणत्रयीसङ्गलानुल्लोकस्यासङ्गतार्थताऽऽपतेदिति । तथा अवर्णसङ्करकृत इति । अथ असौ वर्णश्च इति अवर्णः अकाराक्षरः । तत्रावर्णे सङ्करो रूपसङ्गतिस्तां करोति । ' अक्षराणामकारोऽस्मि ' (भ.गी. १०.३३) इति स्मृते । अथवा महानुभावगुरुपित्रादिर्हिसया

दापरैतः कुलधनानां वर्णसङ्करकारकः ।

उत्साद्यन्ते जातिधर्माः कुलधर्माश्च शाश्वताः ॥

उत्सन्नकुलधर्माणां मनुष्याणां जनार्दन ।

नरके नियतं वासो भवतीत्यनुशुश्रुम ॥ (भ.गी. १.४३,४४)

इति सम्भावितसङ्करदोषस्यार्जुनस्य मोहापसारणायान्ते

सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं ब्रज ।

अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः ॥ (भ.गी. १८.६६)

इति वर्णसङ्करं न करोतीत्यवर्णसङ्करकृत इति । स्वधर्मपालनसक्तानामीश्वरैकशरण्यानां कल्पितदोषासम्भवात् सर्वथा परमेश्वरनियतिस्थापितैवेयं कल्पना तदुक्तविधेयानुसारिणी सदुदकाय जायते इति तात्पर्यम् । अत्र च सर्वधर्मशब्देन सम्भावितगुरुपित्राद्यहननादिरूपा धर्मा विवक्षिताः । सर्वपापाणि च गुर्वादिक्षपवर्णसङ्कररूपाणि । मदेकशरणत्वं च आस्तिक्य-लक्षणं स्वधर्माचरणमिति । एवं च सर्वशङ्काविगलनादवर्णसङ्करकृत इति स्वस्थम् ॥ ६(२) ॥

सस्थानकरणं यत्नाद्वर्णशिक्षाविशेषिणः ।

अवर्णसङ्करकृतो यस्य दाक्षेयतुल्यता ॥ ६(३) ॥

अथ च यस्य वासवस्य दाक्षे चातुर्ये नीतिनैपुण्येऽयतुल्यता अयेन देवेन तुल्यता भवति । यन्नोतिगाम्भीर्यं फलोपलब्धिं तावन्न कस्यचित् गोचरीभवतीति सत्यां च तस्यां यन्नयोऽनुमीयते अनेनेदृङ्नीतीः रचिताऽभूत् इति परैरनुभूयते इति नीतिगाम्भीर्यं सूचितम् । न खल्वियं नीतिशालिनां नीतिः न चासौ नीत्यभिज्ञो नीतिचारी वा यस्य फलोपलब्धेः पूर्वं कर्तव्यं परं गोचरीभवतीति । तथा च अङ्गिराः—

नीतिर्नाम नरस्यास्य दिव्यमखं च दृक् यया ।

परानभिज्ञं जानाति दुर्गं प्राप्नोति चाखिलम् ॥ इति ॥ तथा—

न नामनीतिरक्षाज्ञो नरो नर इतीर्यते ।

दिव्यमूर्तिरसौ यस्य गृहस्थस्याखिलं पुरः ॥ इति ।

तथा च स्वसंगोचित्येनैवास्य नीतिनैपुण्यं दर्शयति सस्थानेत्यादि । यस्य नयपदोऽयत्नात् कामोद्रेकातुरदेहेन्द्रियबलाद्गोतमाश्रममागत्य सस्थानं समानं सदृशं स्थानं स्थितिः रचना यत्र तादृशं करणं शरीरमिन्द्रियाणि च यत्रेति सस्थानकरणं समानमानादिरचनया गौतमस्य शरीरमिन्द्रियाणि च अभिनीय वर्गशिक्षाविधायिन इति । वर्णैः न तु पदादिभिः शिक्षा स(अ)हल्यावञ्जनारूपां विशेषेण शेषिणः शेषं स्थापयित्वाऽसमञ्जसं वचनं ददत इत्यर्थः ।

अत्र च पुराणाशयो धीमद्विः स्वयमूहः । ततश्चावर्णसङ्करकृत इति । कुत्सितो वर्णाऽवर्णो म्लेच्छादिप्रायः तेन सङ्करं धर्मविप्लवं करोतीति । अत्रापि पुराणमवाद ऊह्यः ॥ ६(३) ॥

सस्थानकरणं यत्नाद्वर्णशिक्षाविशेषिणः ।

अवर्णसङ्करकृतो यस्य दाक्षेयतुल्यता ॥ ६(४) ॥

अथ च यस्य दाक्षेयतुल्यतेति । दाक्षी पाणिनिमाता तस्या दाक्ष्या अपत्यम् । 'स्त्रीभ्यो ढक्' (पा. ४.१.१२०) इति ढकि, एयादेशे च दाक्षेय इति रूपम्, इति दाक्षेयः पाणिनिः, तस्य दाक्षेयस्य पाणिनेः सा माता यस्येति । केवलसत्त्वमूर्तिरजोलेशानुविद्धसत्त्वमूर्ति-रजस्तमोलेशमिश्रितसत्त्वमूर्तिनां त्रयाणां श्रीरामकृष्णवासवानां मध्ये एकतरस्यास्तीति । तथा च असां खलु महानुभावोऽतिदुर्घटमुकृतकर्मणावश्यमन्यतरसाम्यमाप्तो भवेदिति वैयधिकरण्येऽपि शब्दानुशासनमिति वत् सापेक्षस्यापि समासो न वद्य इति । अथ च यस्य दाक्षेयतुल्यतेति यावदुक्तं विशेषणजातं दाक्षेयसङ्गतं न भवेत्, तावत्साम्यं कथं घटत इति । यावच्चास्याति-दुर्घटकर्मकारित्वं नोक्तं भवेत्तावत्कथमेतदन्यतरसाम्यमिति । अर्थवशाद्दाक्षेयतुल्यतेति पदं विशिष्य योज्यं दाक्षेयस्य तुल्यतेति । तथा च कथम्भूतस्य दाक्षेयस्येति कृत्वा विशेषणद्वारेण साम्यं दर्शयति—सस्थानेति । यत्नात् प्राणव्यापारलक्षणाच्चतुर्विधादान्तरात् एकादशविधात् वा बाह्यात् । वर्णशिक्षाविशेषिणः वर्णानामकारादीनां या शिक्षा जन्मबोधिका लक्षणा, तां विशिनष्टि अल्पशिक्षाकारेभ्यो विशेषेण शेषयति, ग्रन्थपरिसमाप्तौ (=अष्टाध्यायी०) 'अ अ' (पा. ८.४.६८) इति सूत्रेणोपस्कृततया स्थापयतीति । एष च भावः—समनन्तरमेवाग्रे स्फुटीभविष्यतीत्यास्तां तावत् सस्थानकरणमिति । विशेषणं क्रियाविशेषणं सह स्थानकरणाभ्यां वर्तत इति सस्थानकरणमिति । तत्र स्थानमष्टविधं, तात्वादि करणं, जिह्वावान्तरमेदत्वेऽपि जिह्वास्वस्थानमेदाभ्यां द्विविधम् । यत्नश्च द्विधा । तत्र त्रयाणाममीषां वर्णोत्पत्त्युपयोगित्वादादौ लक्षणमुच्यते । यत्रस्था वर्णा उत्पद्यन्ते तत्स्थानम् । १ ॥ येन निवर्त्यन्ते तत्करणम् । २ ॥ यतनं च यत्नः । ३ ॥ अयमर्थः—आस्यं खलु सर्वेषां वर्णानां सामान्यस्थानं तदवयवाश्च कण्ठादयोऽत्र विशेषतः स्थानशब्देन विवक्षिताः । 'तिष्ठतेरधिकरणे ल्युट्प्रत्ययः' () 'करोतेश्च करणे' () 'भावे च यतेर्नङ् प्रत्ययः' () । ततश्च बाह्यशब्दवदेत-दुत्पत्तावपि त्रितयेन भाव्यम् । तत्र यथा बाह्यशब्दे दुन्दुभ्यादयः स्थानं, लघुडादयः करणम्, तत्संयोगोत्पादकश्च चेष्टाविशेषो यत्नः तथेहापि भाव्यमिति । स्थानं तावन्निरूप्यते । तात्वादयः स्थानानीति । तानि चाष्टौ । तथा च—

अष्टौ स्थानानि वर्णानामुरः कण्ठः शिरस्तथा ।

जिह्वामूलं च दन्ताश्च नासिकौष्ठौ च तालु च ॥

(पा. शिक्षा. १३.) इति —

उद्दिष्टस्थानमध्ये उरः इति । तत्र किमी(मे)नमिदं स्थानमिति विचार्यते । निबद्धं खलवाचार्येण-

कण्ठ्यावहाविचुयशास्तालव्या ओष्ठजावुपु ।
 स्युर्मूर्धन्या ऋटुरषा दन्त्या लृतुरसाः स्मृताः ॥
 जिह्वामूले तु कुः प्रोक्तो दन्त्योष्ठयो वः स्मृतो बुधैः ।
 ए ऐ तु कण्ठतालव्या ओ औ कण्ठोष्ठजावुभौ ॥
 अर्धमात्रा तु कण्ठस्य एकारौकारयोर्भवेत् ॥
 अन्ये वर्णं समाश्रित्य दर्शयन्ति निजं वपुः ।
 अथोगवाहा विज्ञेया आश्रयस्थानभागिनः ॥
 अलाबुवीणानिर्घोषो दन्तमूल्यः स्वराननु ।
 अनुस्वारस्तु कर्तव्यो नित्यं होः शपसेषु च ॥ (पा. शि. १७-२३)

इति स्थानपरिगणनायामुरो नाम कस्यचित्स्थानं परिगणितमिति किमर्थमुर इति स्थानमध्ये परिगणितम् । सप्तसङ्ख्ययैव च स्थानगणनाया निरवशेषत्वादिति । अत्राहुः - हविसर्गौ उरःस्थौ एकेषामिति । एको(?) मतेनास्यापि स्थानत्वात्परिगणनम् । सामान्यतया वचनं चाचार्यमतम् । तद्यथा—एव चत्रो गतोऽभूदिति प्रश्ने कश्चित् पञ्चालेष्विति कश्चिच्च पूर्वपञ्चालेष्विति सामान्यविशेषोक्तौ यथा नभस्तथात्रापीति कठान्तर्भाग $\times \times$ इत्याचक्षते । परे पुनरेतत् व्यवस्थाश्चक्रुः ---

हकारं पञ्चमैर्युक्तमन्तःस्थाभिश्च संयुतम् ।

उरस्यन्तं (औरस्यं तं) विजानीयात् कण्ठ्यमाहुरसंयुतम् ॥ (पा. शि. १६) इति

असंयुते च 'कण्ठ्यौ हविसर्गौ' () इत्याचार्यः । 'पूर्वकण्ठ्यौ' () इत्यपरे इति विशेषः । 'अर्धमात्रा तु कण्ठस्य' (पा. शि. १९) इति । तत्र द्विवर्णानि सन्ध्यक्षराणि । अवर्णवर्णौ पूर्वयोः । अवर्णोवर्णवुत्तरयोः, तस्मात्पूर्वार्धमेषां कण्ठ्यमिष्यते । सर्वेषामुत्तरार्धं तालव्यम् । द्वयोर्द्वयोश्चौष्ठ्यम् इति । कति(स्य)चिन्मतम् उपस्करोति । अर्धमात्रेति अत्रार्थः—कण्ठे भवः कण्ठ्यो वर्ण इति यावत् । तस्य कण्ठस्य अवर्णस्य अर्धमात्रा शिष्टा । विध्यर्थे वर्णावर्णयोः इत्येतदनुसारेण स्थानविभागोऽपि बोध्यः । एवं च 'एचश्चोत्तरभूयस्वादिति' () भाष्यात् । 'एच इग्रस्वादेश' (पा. १.१.४८) इति सूत्रकर्तव्यताऽपि न शिष्यत इति ध्येयम् । कण्ठतालव्याविति । कण्ठश्च तालु च कण्ठतालु, तत्र भवौ कण्ठतालव्यौ । नरसिंहवद्वा स्थानान्तरं कण्ठतालु, तत्र भवौ इति वा । तत्र कण्ठस्यैव बाह्यो भागो जिह्वा १; कण्ठाद्वहिः तालु २; तालुनो बहिः मूर्धा ३; मूर्ध्नो बहिः दन्ताः ४; दन्तेभ्यो बहिः ओष्ठौ ५; ओष्ठाम्यां बहिः नासिके ६; कण्ठश्च सप्तमः । स्वयमित्युक्तार्थनिर्वाहार्थं ध्येयम् । उक्तं—'दन्तोष्ठोवो बुधैः स्मृतः' इति । अत्रापि विकल्पः सृक्विस्थानमेके इति । एके

कोचन् वकारं सृजिस्थानमाहुरित्यर्थः । लक्षणकथनपूर्वसयोगवाहस्थाननिरूपणार्थमाह अन्यवर्णमिति । इत्थं च विसर्गजिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयानुस्वारयमा अन्यवर्णोपजीवत्वात् स्थानभागिन इति । ततश्च वृक्षः अग्निः वायुः इत्यादां येन पूर्वेषु वर्णेन विसर्ग उच्चार्यते तत्स्थानमस्य स्थानमिति क्रमेणासौ कण्ठताल्लोष्ठस्थानो बोध्यः । क () करोति क () खनतीत्यत्र कखात्राश्रित्य जिह्वामूलीय उच्चार्यते इति तत्स्थानं 'जिह्वामूले तु कुः प्रोक्तः' इति तत्स्थानः, कः पठति, कः फलतीत्यत्र पफात्राश्रित्य उपध्मानीय उच्चार्यते, इति तत्स्थानं च ओष्ठां इति ओष्ठस्थानोऽसाविति । इत्थं त्रयोऽयोगवाहा निर्णीताः, चतुर्थश्चानुस्वारोऽस्तीति । तस्यापि आश्रयस्थानभागित्वे प्राप्तेऽपवादमाह—दन्तमूल्य इति । अलाबुवीणानिर्वोष इति तस्य स्वरूपनिरूपणं अलाबुवीणाश्रुतिरित्यर्थः । तस्योच्चारणधर्ममाह स्वरानन्विति । प्रयोगविषयमाह नित्यं होरित्यादि । **अयमर्थः** हकाररेफयोः शषसेषु च परेषु अनुस्वारः कर्तव्यः । तत्र हकारे—रिपुं हन्ति । रेफे—कलं रौति । शकारे—मुखं शेते । कृत्क्रियः षकारे न, कं प्रङ्गयते, सकारे—मौलिं सर्वान्स्तृणमश्रय इति । किमन्यत्रानुस्वारो नास्ति येन होरित्यादिना नियम्यते । परममित्यवधेहि । तथाहि—'अनुसा- (स्वा)रस्य ययि परसवर्णः' (पा. ८.४.५८) इति, 'वा पदान्तस्य' (पा. ८.४.५९) इति सूत्राभ्यां नियमितत्वात् अन्यो विषयोऽस्य शुद्धो नास्ति इति । तथा च—अङ्कितं स्थितं शान्तं गुम्फितं स्तम्भितं बलात् कुर्वन्ति सुधियः शकन्धीः किं किं नैव साश्चयेत् इति । 'तं कथं चातकं डीनं नभा(मः)स्थं पुरुषोऽवधीत्' 'तङ्क्यश्चातकखीनत्रमस्थम्पुरुषोऽवधीत्' इति । यद्येवं रेफे

भृशं रौति भृशं रौति भृशं रौति मुदान्वितः ।

'शास्त्राभ्यामवतो नित्यं शब्दब्रह्मरसोज्ज्वलः ॥

इत्यादौ रेफेऽपि विभाषा प्राप्नोति इति चेत् 'रेफोष्मणां सवर्णा न सन्ति' इति परसवर्णाभावाच्चित्यनुस्वार एवा अत्र च सवर्णसंज्ञाभावबीजं स्थानप्रयत्नोभयाश्रयत्वम् । अस्ति च पाणिनीयं 'तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम्' (पा. १.१.९) इति । तत्र रेफोष्मणां गजनमानां शषसरेफैः सह तुल्यास्यत्वे सत्यपि 'स्पृष्टं प्रयत्नं स्पर्शानामीषत्स्पृष्टमन्तः- स्थानां, विवृतमूष्मणां खराणां च' इति प्रयत्नभेदात्सावर्ण्यभावः । हकारस्य तु पाणिनिमते द्रव्याभाव एव । 'अकुहविसर्गाणां कण्ठः' इत्येकीयमते पुनः सत्यपि कथञ्चित् ङकारेण स्थानसाम्ये प्रोक्तरीत्या तुल्याप्रयत्नाभावात् सावर्ण्याभाव इति 'नित्यं होः शषसेषु च' इति स्थितम् । 'अनो नैवाशयोन सारस्वते x x छन्दसि' इति सूत्रितम् । विशुद्धानुस्वारमात्रानुकरणमेव x x कार इति ध्येयम् । छन्दोप्रहणं च तत्रैवोच्चारस्य प्राधान्यख्यापनार्थम् । शब्दप्राधान्यं हि प्रायेण वेदस्येति, न पुनर्लोकव्यवच्छेदार्थमिति । लोकेऽपि चानया रीत्या x x x करोच्चारः पाठयुद्धि x x x त्रिणि तत्त्वम् । तदेतत्तन्निष्पन्नं भट्ट(डू)जगद्धरेणापि निबद्धम् —

× × रूप कण्ठनासिक्यं रेफे शषसहेषु च ।
 छन्दोगाध्वर्यवो विप्रा अनुस्वारमधीयते ॥
 तदन्तमूलनासिक्यं हरेफशषसोत्तरम् ।
 अलाबुवल्लकीतुरूप × × शसन्ति बह्वृचाः ॥
 इष्टः परसवर्णोऽस्य स्पर्शेषु यवलेषु च ।
 विभाषितः पदान्तेऽपि प्राचुर्यं न जहाति सः ॥

इत्थमयोगवाहेषु विसर्गजिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयानुस्वाराणां स्थानविचारयोमिति (?) यमाः शिष्यन्ते, तत्राप्याश्रयस्थानभागिन इत्युक्तम् । तत्र के नाम इमे इति इदानीं विचार्यते ।—तत्र दीक्षितः—वर्गेष्वद्यानां चतुर्णां पञ्चमे परे यमो नाम पूर्वसदृशो वर्णः प्रातिशाख्ये विहितः इत्युक्त्वा पलिकृन्नीः चख्खनतुः, अग्निः, जध्धनतुः इत्युदाजहे । (सि. कौ. on. पा. ८.२.१) तत्रान्यमनविनंवादाः, उपलक्षणपरत्वमस्य व्याख्येयम् । तथा च—

‘अन्त्येनानन्त्यसंयोगे यमानां जायते शतम्’ । ()
 ‘चत्वार इति तु प्रोक्तं सामान्यस्य विवक्षया’ ॥ ()

इति तेषामप्याश्रयस्थानभागित्वम् । तत्रायं विभागः—तेषां विकारितापक्षे स्वविकारिस्थान-नासिकास्थानत्वम्, आगमितापक्षे केवलनासिकास्थानत्वमिति केचित् । तदेतदविचारितरम्यम् । आगमितापक्षेऽपिड ‘अमण्डनानां नासिका च’ (सि. कौ. on. पा. १.१.९) इति चकारेण स्वस्थानाकर्षणात् स्वविकारिस्थाननासिकास्थानत्वस्यायत्नोपनतत्वादिति । इत्थं च यमाश्च नासिक्यजिह्वामूलीया एकेषामिति जिह्वामूलीयग्रहणं स्वविकारिस्थानोपलक्षणतया नेयम् । यद्यप्याचार्येण वर्गमध्य एवानुनासिकापाठात्तत्स्थानत्वमेवेहानुमतं तथापि ‘मुखनासिकावचनोनुऽनासिक’ (पा. १.१.९) इति वचनात् नासिकास्थानत्वमपि स्वीकृतमेवेति बोध्यम् । अस्ति चान्यत् शिक्षासूत्रम् ‘डञ्जनमाः स्वस्थाननासिकास्थानाः’ इति । तत्र डकारस्य कण्ठसहिता जिह्वासहिता वा नासिका स्थानम् १; अकारस्य तालुसहिता २; णकारस्य मूर्धसहिता ३; नकारस्य दन्तसहिता ४; मकारस्योष्ठसहिता ५; इति । अत्रापि ऋलृवर्णयोः जिह्वामूलीयत्वं पञ्चमत्तम् यत्पुनः मूर्धन्यत्वं दन्तत्वं चात्र स्वीकृतम् तत्तन्मध्यवर्ति-रलृकाराभिप्रायेणेत्यूह्यम् । उक्तः स्थानविभागः । अथ करणविभागः—कण्ठतालव्यमूर्धदन्त्यानां करणं रसाः शेषाः स्वस्थानकरणविज्ञेया धिषणाचर्णैः । तत्र कण्ठतालुमूर्धामेकवर्तित्वाज्जिह्वा करणम् । दन्तानां च स्वयमचलत्वात्करणत्वं न सम्भवति । कथं चतुर्णामेका [जिह्वा] करणमिति नाश(शं)क्यम् अवयवविभागस्य विवक्षितत्वात् । तथा च जिह्वामूलेन कण्ठ्यानाम् १; जिह्वामध्येन ताल्व्यानाम् २; जिह्वोपाग्रेण मूर्धन्या[ना]म् ३; उपाग्रमग्रसमीपवर्त्युपरितनो भागः । तस्य धुपरि मूर्धो । तदिदं ऋटुराणामुपलभ्यते । जिह्वाग्राधः करणं वा । यो

वाऽग्रस्याऽधोभागो जिह्वाया असौ मूर्धन्यानां करणमिति कात्यायनमतं, तदिदं दृग्गोचरोप-
लभ्यते । जिह्वाप्रेण दन्त्यानाम् । तदिदं जगद्धरेण संक्षिप्य निबद्धम्—

कण्ठोऽर्धमूर्धतालव्यदन्त्यानां करणानि तु ।

मूलं मध्यं च जिह्वाया उपाग्रं चाग्रमेव च ॥

जिह्वोपाग्राधस्तनां शब्दवर्गस्य विवेष्टितः ।

अधःकण्ठ्या मध्यकण्ठ्या नासिक्येऽष्टाश्च ये मताः ।

द्व्यंशेषु तेषां स्थानेषु संस्पर्शः स्वांशसम्भवः ।

अप्रवृत्ता पूर्वयोर्हि निवृत्ता परयोरपि ॥

जिह्वा चतुर्थ्यपि ततः करणत्वं न विन्दति ॥ इति ।

उक्तः करणविभागः । अथ यत्नविभागः—तत्र यत्नो नाम जीवस्य विशेषगुणः ।
स खलु दुःखोपभोगफलाय प्राचीनादृष्टवशादुद्भूतः फलोपभोगसाधनभूतवाच्यव्यवहारसिद्धये
तद्वाचकात्मकशब्दजातकारणमिति । तथा च निरतिशयसुखात्मकस्य प्रयोगो न खलु परस्य
भवेत् । युज्यतेऽतः विविदिषत इहास्य जीव आत्मा सुखविपरीतवृत्तेरपि भोगभोजीति तददृष्ट-
भोगार्थमवश्यं वाचकशब्देन भाव्यम् । तथा च हरिः—

न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके यः शब्दानुगमादृते ।

अनुविद्धमिव ज्ञानं सर्वं शब्देन गम्यते ॥ (वाक्यपदीय १.१२३) इति

तदुत्पत्तिविधां चाचार्योऽनुवदति ।

आत्मा बुद्ध्या समर्थार्थान् मनो युङ्क्ते विवक्षया ।

मनः कायाग्निमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ॥ (पा. शि. ६) इति

ततश्च नाभिप्रदेशात्प्रयत्नप्रेरितः प्राणो नाम वायुः ऊर्ध्वमाक्रमन्तुरःप्रभृतीनां
स्थानानामन्यतरस्मिन् स्थाने तेनैव प्रयत्नेन विधार्यते । अत्रार्थः—“ वायुः वै चिन्तया
प्राणो भवति । ” इति श्रुतेः आकाशशारी(यी) वायुः चिन्तया प्राणो भूत्वा नाभि-
प्रदेशादूर्ध्वमाक्रमन्तुर आदीनां स्थाना[ना]मन्यतरस्मिन्स्थाने प्रयोक्तरीह्यावस्थाप्यते । इत्थं कोष्ठा-
दुरश्चरन्तुरसि विस्तृतः कण्ठे निष्ठित आस्ये वर्णतां यातीति । तद्यथा—सुवर्णकारः सुवर्णं
विलाप्य बिले निषिच्य कटकस्वस्तिकरुचकादीनां रूपाणां यद्यदी(दि)च्छति तत्तदभिनिवर्तयति
तथाऽयं प्रयोक्त्या कण्ठ्यादीनां वर्णानामदृष्टवलाद्यं यं वर्णमिच्छति तं तं कारणैरभिनिवर्तयतीति ।
तथा चासौ करणैः विधार्यमाणो वायुः स्थानमभिहन्ति । ततः स्थानाभिवातात् ध्वनिरुत्पद्यते
इत्यसौ श्रुतियोग्यो भवति । तथा चोक्तं, “ ध्वनिरूपत्वमापद्य श्रुतियोग्यो विवर्तते ” इति ।
स एषोऽदृष्टविशेषेण करणसंस्कृतो विशिष्टवर्णतामापद्यते । तथा चोक्तम्—

स एष करणः पश्चात् संस्कृतो यन्धाविभिः ।
अकारादिविभागेन विभक्तत्वं प्रपद्यते ॥ इति ।

त इमे वर्णाः चतुःषष्टिरिति पाणिनिः । तथा च—

स्वरा विंशतिरेकश्च स्पर्शानां पञ्चविंशतिः ।

यादयश्च स्मृता ह्यष्टौ चत्वारश्च यमाः स्मृताः ॥

अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च कःपौ चापि पराश्रिता ।

दुःस्पृष्टश्चेति विज्ञेयो लृकारः प्लुत एव च ॥ (पा. शि. ४,५)

अयमर्थः प्रस्तारः—अ इ उ ऋ इति चतुर्णां वर्णानां ह्रस्वरीर्ध्वप्लुतभेदात् द्वादशधात्वम् । मन्व्यक्षराणां ह्रस्वाभावादष्टधात्वम्, इति जातं तावत् विंशतिर्वर्णाः । एकश्चेति-लृकारस्य दीर्घाभावात् ह्रस्वरूपमेवैकं भेदमादायोक्तं स्वरा विंशतिरेकश्चेति ॥ २१ ॥ ‘लृकारः प्लुत एव च’ (पा.शि. ५) इति पश्चाद्गण्यमानेन प्लुतभेदेन सह द्वाविंशतिः (२२), स्वरा इति ध्येयम् । कादयो मावसानाः स्पर्शाः । ते पञ्चविंशतिः (२५), इति तावज्जातम् ४७ । ‘यादयश्च स्मृता ह्यष्टौ’ इति यादयो (८), ‘हान्ता अष्टौ’ इति जातं ५५ । ‘चत्वारश्च यमा’ इति जातं ५९ । अनुस्वाराद्या अयोगवाहाश्चत्वारः इति जातं ६३ । दुःस्पृष्टेनाख्येन वर्णेन सह जातं ६४ । असौ च सर्वत्र डोडा इति मृडाशब्दादिषु लिपितः प्रसिद्धो डाकारनामा वर्णो बोध्य इति सिद्धं चतुःषष्टि वर्णाः (पा. शि. ३) इति । उक्तं च—

दुष्टः शबलवर्णत्वात् स्पृष्टः स्पर्शगुणाच्च यः ।

डाकाराख्यः स दुःस्पृष्टो वेदे पारिषदैः स्मृतः ॥ इति । तथा—

इडाडूडोभडूडीभमृडेणु षोडशादिषु ।

ईषत्स्पर्शात्कलापाठो युक्तो वेदे तथा श्रुतेः(तां) ॥

यन्मते पुनः लोके दुःस्पृष्टो नास्ति तेषां त्रिषष्टिरेव वर्णा इति ध्येयम् । तथा केचित् दीर्घलृकारेण लोके चतुःषष्टिधात्वं स्वीकुर्वते । तथा च—

दीर्घलृकारो भवेल्लोके तस्याप्यस्ति हि सम्भवः ।

यादृच्छिके × वैकल्पभवानुकरणे तथा ॥ इति ।

इत्थं च डाकारेण वेदे चतुःषष्टिधात्वम् । लोके पुनः दीर्घलृकारस्वीकारेणेति व्यवस्थापितम् ।

प्रयत्नो नाम पुरुषविशेषगुणो वाचकात्मशब्दोत्पत्तिकारणमिति । ‘स’ एव आन्तर-बाह्यभेदभिन्नतया द्विधा-तत्राद्यः चतुर्धा स्पृष्टेषत्स्पृष्टसंवृतविवृतभेदात् । तत्र स्पृष्टं स्पर्शानाम्,

ईषत्स्पृष्टमन्तःस्थानाम्, संवृतमकारस्य, विवृतमूष्मणां स्वराणां च । तेभ्यो विवृतत्वं च एदोतोः, ताभ्यामैदौतोः, ताभ्यामूष्मकारस्य । अत्र अपरे विवृतं स्वराणाम्, ईषद्विवृतमूष्मणामिति वदन्ति । तन्मते नाज्जलो (पा. १.१.१०) इत्यस्यानारम्भ एव किन्निमित्तमिदं पुनः चतुष्टयमित्युच्यते । उक्तं—स एष वर्णतामापद्यत इति । तत्र वर्णध्वनावुत्पद्यमाने स्थानकरणे यदा प्रयत्नेनान्योन्यं संस्पर्श्यते तदा स्पृष्टता । यदा त्वोषत्तदेषत्स्पृष्टता । यदा सामीप्येन तदा संवृतता, दूरतः पुनः विवृतता इति । आन्तरत्वं पुनः वर्णोत्पत्तिसहभावित्वात् । तथा च—

यदसौ स्थानकरणव्यापारोऽन्तर्मुखे ध्वनौ ।

वाणार्त्मलाभसमये तेनासावान्तरः स्मृतः ॥ इति ।

भट्टजगद्धरश्च—

प्रयोक्तुं करणं स्थानं धर्तुं प्राणं च यो भवेत् ।

प्रयत्न आत्मनो वर्णजनकत्वात् स आन्तरः ॥

उपचारेण तज्जन्यः स्पर्शादिर्यत्र उच्यते ।

संस्पर्श ईषत्स्पर्शश्च विवृतिः संवृतिस्तथा ॥

सम्पूर्णः सानुकरणः स्पर्शः स्पर्शयमोद्भवे ।

पादोनः स यणुत्पत्तावूष्मणां चापि जन्मनि ॥

जन्मन्ययोगवाहतामीषद्विवृत्ति(ति)रिष्यते ।

पूर्णा स्वराणामुदये स्थानस्य करणस्य च ॥

उत्तमा तेभ्य एदोतोरैदौतोः साधिका ततः ।

आकारस्य ततोऽप्यस्मादकारः संवृतो मतः ॥

प्राणोऽप्ययोवदाहन्ति स्थानं स्पर्शयमोद्भवे ।

यणां दारुवदुत्पत्तौ वीणावच्च खरोष्मणाम् ॥ इति ।

निरुक्त आन्तरः प्रयत्नः । सम्प्रति बाह्योऽसौ निरुच्यते । वर्णोत्पत्तेरनुभावविवादस्य बाह्यत्वमिति । असौ चैकादशधा—विवारसंवारश्चासनादाघोषघोषाल्पप्राणमहाप्राणोदात्तानुदात्त-स्वरितभेदादिनि । तत्र स्वरस्तद्यमाः विसर्गः कपावविवारः श्वाभ्योऽघोषश्च, हश्स्तद्यमाः, अनुस्वारश्च संवादो नादो घोषश्च वर्णविषमास्तद्यमाः यणश्चाल्पप्राणाः, वर्णयुजस्तद्यमाः शलश्च महाप्राणाः उदात्तादयश्च त्रयोऽचामेव धर्म इति । किंविशेषणं पुनरेकादशभावत्वमिति निरूप्यते । स एव प्राणो नाम वायुरूध्वमाक्रामन् मूर्ध्नि प्रतिहतो यदा निवृत्तः कोष्ठमभिहन्ति तदा कोष्ठेऽभिहन्यमाने गच्छविलस्य विवृतत्वाद्विवारः । संवृतत्वाच्च संवारः । तथा च—

प्रतीघाताल्पभावात्तु मृदुयात्रामिहन्ति तत् ।
तेषां कण्ठविकासेन प्रोक्ता विवृतकण्ठता ॥ इति ।

प्रतियोगिन्यायेन पुनः संवृतकण्ठतेति । विवृतौ च श्वासः संवृतौ पुनर्नादः । तथा च—

विवृतत्वेन कण्ठस्य कोष्ठे यो जायते ध्वनिः ।
अन्यो वर्णध्वनेः पश्चात् स श्वास इति कीर्त्यते ॥
संवृतत्वेन कण्ठस्य कोष्ठे यो जायते ध्वनिः ।
अन्यो वर्णध्वनेस्तस्मात् नादो नाम स शब्दते ॥ इति ।

एतावनुपधा(दा)नमित्याचक्षते । वर्णनिष्पत्तेरनुप्रदीयते इति कृत्वा । तथा च —

तस्माद्वर्णध्वनेः पश्चात् दीयमानतया तयोः ।
अनुप्रदानमित्येतदन्वर्थं नाम कथ्यते ॥

परं पुनर्वृत्तं अनुप्रदानमनुस्वानो घण्टानेर्द्वादिवत् । यथा घण्टानिर्द्वादोऽनुस्वान-
मनुभजति तथात्र स्थानाभिवाचने ध्वनौ श्वासनादावनुप्रदीयते, इत्यनुप्रदानेन प्रयत्नाधीनजन्म-
शब्दान्तरमिति । तथा च—

किन्तु वर्णध्वनेरेव घण्टाध्वनिवदुत्थितम् ।
इहानुरणनं श्वासनादाख्यमिति केचन ॥ इति ।

भट्टश्च—

श्वासनादावनुस्वानौ घण्टानुरणनोपमौ ।
वर्णनेन वदन्त्यन्ये न तु यत्नान्तरोद्भवौ ॥ इति ।

स्थानाभिघातजे ध्वनौ श्वासध्वनिसंसर्गाद्घोषः, नादध्वनिसंसर्गाच्चाघोषः । भवति

चात्र—

यथा मिथो व्यतिकरात् गीतवादित्रशब्दयोः ।
विशेषः तद्वदेवेष्टः सवर्णानुप्रदानयोः ॥

तथा—

यथा संयुक्तशब्देन वर्णसंपरिपोषणम् ।
तथैवानुप्रदानेन वर्णानामुपवृंहणम् ॥ इति ।

अल्पे वायौ अल्पप्राणः, महति वायौ महाप्राणः । तथा च—

वायोः खलु महत्तायां महत्ता आसनादयोः ।
अल्पतायां पुनर्वायोः अल्पता च तयोर्मता ॥ इति ।

अत्रान्योऽपि विशेषः--

अघोषः केवलश्चासादल्पकादुपजायते ।
आसे महति चोत्पत्तिरघोषोष्मत्वयोर्द्वयोः ॥
घोषश्च केवलो नादादल्पकादुपजायते ।
नादे महति चोत्पत्तिः स्यादघोषोष्मत्वयोर्द्वयोः ॥ इति व्याख्याताः ।

एकादशविधबाह्यप्रयत्नमध्ये विवारादयोऽष्टौ, अथोदात्तादयस्त्रयो व्याख्यायन्ते, ये केवलमचामेव धर्माः ।

ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतानां स्युरचां धर्मास्त्रयः स्वराः ।
मात्रार्धपरिमाणो द्वित्रैस्वर्यस्य न भाजनम ॥ इति वचनात् ।

तल्लक्षणमाह सूत्रकारः--उच्चैरुदात्तः, १, नीचैरनुदात्तः, २, समाहारः स्वरितः ३ (पा. १.२.२९-३१) इति । श्रीमहाभाष्ये--आयासो दारुण्यमण्डता खस्य इत्युच्चैः-करणानि शब्दस्य । अत्रार्थः--यदा सर्वाङ्गानुसारी यत्नस्तीव्रो भवति तदा गात्राणामायासो निग्रहः, स्तब्धता भवति । वायोस्तीव्रगतिर्वादारुण्यं स्वरस्य रौक्ष्यं भवति । खस्य कण्ठविवरस्य अण्डत्वमिति, तमुदात्त इत्याचक्षते । भवति चात्र--

निःशेषगात्रानुगतो यदोत्कटो
यत्नस्तदाभ्यन्तरवादिशोषणात् ।
सङ्कोचमङ्गान्युपयान्ति सूक्ष्मतां
कण्ठश्च शुष्को विजलो यथा दृतिः ॥
अत्र तीव्रगतिर्वाच्च यो वायोरुपजायते ।
रूक्षभावोऽक्षरस्यासावुदात्तस्वर उच्चकैः ॥ इति ।

तथा श्रीभाष्ये--अथ नीचैः करणानि शब्दस्य । अन्ववसर्गो मर्दवमुरुता खस्येति नीचैःकरणानि शब्दस्य । अत्रार्थः--यदा तु सर्वाङ्गानुसारी मन्दः प्रयत्नो भवति तदा गात्राणामन्ववसर्गः संसर्गं शिथिलता कण्ठविलस्य च महत्त्वं, स्वरस्य च वायोर्मन्दगति-त्वान्मर्दं स्निग्धता भवति, तमुदात्त इत्याचक्षते । भवति चात्रापि--

यत्नोऽखिलाङ्गानुगतो यदा मृदुः
भवेत्तदाल्पे रसशोषणे सति ।

विस्त्रंसमङ्गान्युपयान्यथो गलो

वैपुल्यमाद्रौ दृतिरादिको यथा ॥

अत्र मन्दतया वायोः स्निग्धत्वं यत्प्रजायते ।

अक्षरस्यानुदात्तोऽसौ धर्मो नीचैः स्वरे मतः ॥

इत्थं च 'उच्चैरुदात्तः' (पा. १.२.२९) इति लक्षणसूत्रे उच्चता नाम प्रमाणं, तदधिकारिणमुच्चैः शब्देन ग्राह्यमित्याशयेन दीक्षितैः (सि. कौ. पा. १.२.२९) ऊर्ध्वभाग इत्यादि विवृतम् । एव नीचैः शब्दस्याप्युच्यते २ । उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरसन्निकर्षात् स्वरित इत्याचक्षते । इत्येवंलक्षणा इमे बाह्यप्रयत्नाः । भवति चात्रापि—

उदात्तानुदात्तौ स्वरौ मिश्रभावं

गतौ यत्र सम्यक् समुच्चार्यमाणौ ।

तमेनं स्वरज्ञाः स्वरं धीरगम्यं

परं स्वरितं प्राहुरभ्यासलभ्यम् ॥ इति ।

प्रातिशाख्येऽपि

एकाक्षरसमावेशे पूर्वयोः स्वरितः परः ।

तस्योदात्ततरोदात्तादधमात्रार्थमेव वा ॥

अनुदात्तः परः शेषः स उदात्तश्रुतिर्न चेत् ।

उदात्तं चोच्यते किञ्चित् स्वरितं वाक्षरं परम् ॥ (ऋ.प्रा. ३.२, ३) इति ।

अत्रार्थः—पूर्वयोरुदात्तानुदात्तयोः यत्रैकाक्षरे समावेशः स स्वस्तिं बोध्यः । तस्य स्वरितस्योदात्तस्य स्वतन्त्रोदात्तापेक्षया या पूर्वधमात्रा सोदात्त[त]रा बोध्या । परयोः शेषोऽर्धमात्रारूपः स उदात्तश्रुतिरेव यतः पूर्वधस्योदात्ततत्त्वाद्दुत्तार्थरूपानुदात्तश्रुतिरपि तत्रैवान्तर्भवतीति । तस्मादत्रानुदात्तोऽप्युदात्तश्रुतिरेव । अत्रापवादमाह—न चेदिति । यदि तु स्वरितार्थरूपादनुदात्तात् परमक्षरं स्वरितमुदात्तो वा स्यात्तर्हि उदात्तश्रुतिर्न भवति, किन्तु अनुदात्तस्य श्रवणं स्पष्टम् अनुदात्ततरमिति कोशिकः ।

स्वराः पुराष्टादशभेदभावात् स्पर्शास्ततस्तेऽपि च पञ्चभेदाः ।

ततो द्विभेदत्त्ववशेन याद्याः शाद्यास्तु भेदा इति सर्वथान्ते ॥

अष्टादशभेदत्वं च यथा—

त्रिभिः स्वरैस्त्रिभिः कालैरनुनासिक्यतस्तथा ।

अकारोऽष्टादशात्मा स्यादिकाराद्यास्तथा त्रयः ॥

काल. उच्चारकालः एकमात्रद्विमात्रत्रिमात्रात्मकः । अत्र विशेषः—

नचो ह्रस्वा न लृ दीर्घः पञ्चते द्वादशात्मकाः ।

अशक्तिजानुकारणे चेदीर्घस्तदकारवत् ॥

इति सम्पन्नं व्याख्यानं सस्थानकरणं यत्नाद्वर्णशिक्षाविशेषिणः इति ।

पुनः कथम्भूतस्य दाक्षेयस्य अवर्णसङ्करकृतः इति । अत्रार्थः—अश्वासौ वर्णोऽवर्णस्तस्य यः सङ्करः । उक्तं संवृतोऽकारो, विवृतः स्वरा इति । तत्र प्रयत्नभेदात्मवर्णसंज्ञायाः अप्राप्तौ दण्डारुकमित्यादि न सिध्यतीति या श्लिष्टता तां कृन्ततीति कृतं, तस्य इति । तथा च—अ अ इति तच्छ्रुद्धौ करोत्यन्ते अ अ इति । (पा. ८.४.६८) एको विवृतोऽपरः संवृतस्तत्र विवृतः संवृतः क्रियते । अकारो विवृतः संवृतो भवति, वृक्षः प्लक्ष इति । इह शास्त्रे कार्यार्थमकारो विवृतः प्रतिज्ञातस्तस्य यथाभूतस्यैव प्रयोगो मा भूदिति संवृतप्रत्यापत्तिरियं क्रियते इति सुस्थम-वर्णसङ्ककृतसङ्करकृत इति ॥ ४ ॥

उच्चनीचसमाहारप्रायोपस्कारशोभिनः ।

कृतसन्नतरारस्य स्वरे दाक्षे यतुल्यता ॥ ७ ॥ (५) ॥

उच्चेति । यस्य श्रीरामस्य स्वरे वागुच्चारे वागुच्चारविषये यदाक्षे शीघ्रता तत्र यतुल्यता वायुतुल्यता निरुपरोधवाक्त्वेन परान सदाभिमुखयति, न कुत्रापि केनचिदपि प्रतिबन्धादिना स्वलद्वद्वाक्त्वमपयाति इत्यर्थः । अनैश्वर्यमयानौदार्यादः तत्स्वलननिमित्त-स्याभावादिति तात्पर्यम् । तथाहि अनैश्वर्यभीतिकार्षण्याभावप्रत्यर्पणापेक्षादिकं खलु वाक्स्वलन-निमित्तमत्र 'तु' तदन्यतमस्यापि निमित्तस्याभावान्निर्गलवाक्त्वमिति । एतादृक्स्वातन्त्र्येऽपि लोकशिक्षार्थं लोकानन्त्यहेतुसामान्यजनानुकारि सदाचारपालनं विशेषणमुखेनोपन्यस्यति उच्चेत्यादि । उच्चाहारादीनां यः प्रायेणानशनादिना उपस्कारः संस्कारः चित्तदेहशोधनेति यावत् । तेन शोभिनः ऐहिकामुत्रिकीर्त्यानन्त्यदीपिनः इति । तत्रोच्चाहारः चन्द्रकलावृद्धि-साम्येनाहारस्यारोहणा नीचाहारश्च तत्कलाहानिसाम्येनाहारस्यावरोहणा इति उभयविध-शुक्लकृष्णपक्षादि प्रारभ्य चान्द्रायणक्रमः सूचितः । तथा च मनुः—

एकैकं ह्रासयेत्पिण्डं कृष्णे शुक्ले च वर्धयेत् ।

उपस्पृशस्त्रिषवणमेतच्चान्द्रायणं स्मृतम् ॥ इति । (११.२.१६)

अस्य च चान्द्रायणव्रतस्य पार्श्वोभये महस्वान्मये चाण्डन्वात पिपीलिकामध्यमिति संज्ञा । तथा—

३२

एनमेव विधिं कृत्स्नमाचरेद्यवमध्यमे ।

शुक्लपक्षादिनियतः चरेच्चान्द्रायणं व्रतम् ॥ इति (११.२१७) ।

एतच्चाद्यन्तपार्श्वोभयेऽण्डत्वात् मध्ये च महत्त्वात् यवमध्याह्नयया ह्यातम् ।
समाहारश्चात्रव समभोजनाख्यं प्रकारान्तरम् । तथा च—

अष्टावष्टौ समश्नीयात् पिण्डान् मध्यन्दिने स्थिते ।

नियतात्महविष्यस्य यतिचान्द्रायणं स्मृतम् ॥ इति (११.२१८) । तथा—

चतुरः प्रातरश्नीयात् पिण्डान् विप्रः समाहितः ।

चतुरोऽस्तमिते सूर्ये शिशुचान्द्रायणं स्मृतम् ॥ इति (११.२१९)

अथवा प्रायेत्यपि (प्राय इत्यपि) पृथगेव प्रायश्चित्तान्तरत्वेन व्याख्येयम्—तथा च
कदाचित् गुरुपातकशङ्कायां प्रायेण प्रायाख्येनोपस्कार इति । तत्र ‘संन्यासवत्यनशने
पुमान्प्रायः’ इत्यनुशासनात् प्रायोऽनशनम् । तच्च पराकाख्यप्रायश्चित्तगतावान्तरलघुगुरुभेदेन
बहुविधम् । तथा च स एव—

यतात्मनोऽप्रमत्तस्य द्वादशाहमभोजनम् ।

पराको नाम कृच्छ्रोऽयं सर्वपापापनोदनः ॥ इति (११.२१५)

भोजननियमसहितं चानशनव्रतं प्रायप्रहणेनैव गृहीतम् । तथा च स एव—

त्र्यहं सायं त्र्यहं प्रातः त्र्यहमद्यादयाचितम् ।

त्र्यहं परं च नाश्नीयात् प्राजापत्यं चरेद्द्विजः ॥ (११.२११) इति ।

तथा—

गोमूत्रं गोमयं क्षीरं दधि सर्पिः कुशोदकम् ।

एकरात्रोपवासश्च कृच्छ्रं सान्तपनं स्मृतम् ॥ इति (११.२१२) ।

तथा—

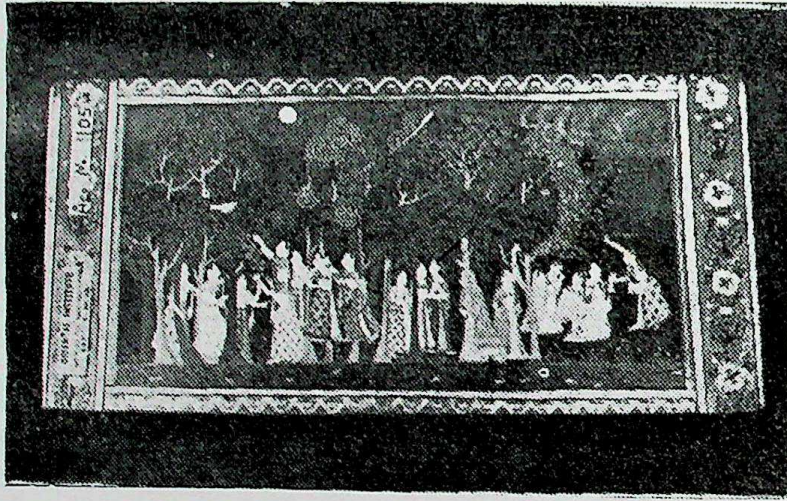
एकैकं प्रासमश्नीयात् त्र्यहाणि त्रीणि पूर्ववत् ।

त्र्यहं चोपवसेदन्यमतिकृच्छ्रं चरन्द्भिजः ॥ (११.२१३)

तथा—

तप्तकृच्छ्रं चरन्विप्रो जलक्षीरघृतानिलान् ।

प्रतित्र्यहं पिबेदुष्णान् सकृत्स्नायी समाहितः ॥ इति (११.२१४) ।



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